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SPORTS TO COME OFF AT THE CAPITOL—CLIMBING THE GREASED POLE.

COMPETITORS:

ROUGH AND READY.—*Winner of the Buena Vista stakes.*
GENERAL SCOTT.—*Winner of* SANTA ANNA'S *dinner at Cerro Gordo.*
THE THANE OF CHOWDER.—*Feats unknown.*
THE MILL BOY OF THE SLASHES. *do.* *do.*

Backed by MR. YANKEE DOODLE.

THE "ALSO RANS" OF YESTERDAY

An exceedingly humorous cartoon showing Taylor, Scott, Clay and others scrambling up to seize Polk's "britches." From *Yankee Doodle*, May 29, 1847

THE "ALSO RANS"

GREAT MEN WHO MISSED MAKING THE PRESIDENTIAL GOAL

BY

DON C. SEITZ

AUTHOR OF "UNCOMMON AMERICANS," "BRAXTON BRAGG," "JOSEPH PULITZER," "HORACE GREELEY," ETC.

Oh, and Southern apologist as well.

WITH EIGHTEEN PORTRAITS AND FOURTEEN CARTOONS

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Errors, biases, misjudgements too numerous
To list. Anti-black, anti Indian, etc
We, for kindling.

To

COLONEL E. M. HOUSE

FOREWORD

Some one has wisely said that wherever there is victory there must be defeat. In politics as in battle, mischance often plays a greater part than leadership. Great men who aspired to fill the highest office in the world, the Presidency of the United States, have more than once met Waterloos either in convention or at the polls at the hands of their inferiors. Of the eighteen outstanding figures I have selected as "Also Rans," fifteen failed to get enough votes. Three never really reached the people. These last were the most eminent of all.

Written at the beginning of another Presidential campaign this volume is a retrospect of American politics on the losing side. I have stopped with William Jennings Bryan, and only allude to Alton B. Parker, the single interlude in Mr. Bryan's twelve year domination of the Democracy. The defeated candidates since then, Charles E. Hughes, James M. Cox, and John W. Davis, still flourish as able and interesting citizens, each continuing to make his own place in the affairs of the nation. It has not been deemed seemly to re-exhibit them in their retirement from party leadership.

D. C. S.

February, 1928

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OUR PRESIDENTS

MEASURED by the requirements of a government for the people, by the people, in the general public interest, how many of the men who have been elected President of the United States have measured up to the standard?

In the beginning of the republic it was not intended that the people should elect their chief magistrate. They were to select members of an electoral college, the groups of which were to meet in their several States and solemnly pick out a perfect President. Quite naturally, George Washington was the first to be chosen. He could readily have made himself Dictator, or Emperor, had he so desired. His chief anxiety was to hold the discordant thirteen together. They showed alarming signs of falling apart, and the Constitution was not fully ratified for many months. Indeed two armed rebellions broke out during his regime.

In a new government it was not possible to produce perfection. It had trouble enough to exist. Scandals were plentiful and factional discord became most rancorous. The Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, who had no belief in popular rule, was tied up with Thomas Jefferson, who was whole-heartedly devoted to it. Hamilton became involved in a scandal with a woman whose husband peddled "influence," and the Secretary was compelled to make a public con-

fession, quite as frank as anything ever disclosed by Jean Jacques Rousseau, to save his political repute.

Such was the burden of his office that Washington was glad to lay it down at the end of his second term to devote himself to agriculture at Mount Vernon. His fame was not helped by his Administration, but his services were so great and his character so exalted, that no one can question his title to immortality,—but not as a President.

John Adams, who succeeded him, was of the coldest New England type. A true history of his Administration was so vicious in its revelations that it was suppressed. Scandalous in detail, it probably was not wholly deserved. Yet little can be found in the record of Adams as President to prove that he even nearly approximated the ideals. Of course, Thomas Jefferson, with his notion of popular government, was a mischief-maker and bedeviled Adams as much as he could. Yet each died on the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, revering the other.

Of Jefferson it can be said that he was more concerned with enforcing his views than managing the affairs of government. He bought Louisiana and the Northwest from Napoleon and so saved us the necessity of stealing it in later years. This was a masterpiece of foresight, though Bonaparte pressed the bargain as a step against the further growth of the British Empire. Jefferson's "embargo" brought great calamity upon our seaboard and his policy toward the Army and Navy left the country naked to the winds.

With all his "democracy" he made James Madison his successor, and Madison produced the War of 1812

which almost caused a secession of the New England States. James Monroe, who came after, remains famous as the inventor of a doctrine that has more than once threatened our peace, and has for over a century been a source of offense to the South American republics. Briefly interpreted, under its enforcement, the United States will permit no one to "lick" our neighbors but ourselves.

John Quincy Adams followed. Up to and including his day the Presidents and the Government had been aristocratic. Now came Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, to demand that the People enter the White House. He led Adams on the electoral vote, but a discriminating Congress to whose hands fell the choice, shut the door of the pallid palace in his face. Adams's administration was one of discord and turmoil that did no good to the land. The United States Bank fastened itself upon the country, and New England Whiggery had its way, but not without Congressional conflicts that embittered men and distressed the country.

At the next election Jackson triumphed, and also in the next. The Electoral College became a rubber stamp, and the People entered the White House wearing their muddy boots and spitting on the carpet. The victors got the spoils. A woman upset Jackson's Cabinet, and South Carolina came near to seceding. A warship kept Charleston under its guns until the State cooled off. "The Union must be preserved" said "Old Hickory" and he meant it. But his Administration of eight years was a battle,—not a government.

Like Jefferson, Jackson provided a successor to himself in the person of Martin Van Buren, smooth, sly,

and "foxy." He, too, played politics, and administration went to the dogs,—indeed, it could not be said to have been established. He failed to succeed himself. The Whigs selected William Henry Harrison on his repute as the "hero" of Tippecanoe, where with a large body of troops he defeated a small body of Indians under a much abler man, Elskawata, "Prophet" of the Shawnees. His stay in office was but one month. Pompous and ill-informed, he had no idea of affairs and saved his fame by dying. John Tyler of Virginia then became the first Vice-President to fill the chief chair. Tyler arranged the annexation of Texas as a sop to the cotton growing slaveholders and laid the foundations of the unjust Mexican War. His successor, James K. Polk, put that conflict over with no justification that any historian could ever d cover, but it gave us a fat slice of sage br California, and a continued serial of internati complicat[illegible]us added power to the slave ers. His [illegible]ion was super-political and g way to o[illegible]oes created by the war, Z chary T[illegible]gh and Ready." He lived only a [illegible] taking office. A dish of cherrie[illegible] a colic from which he did not rec[illegible]ver and [illegible]nt Millard Fillmore of Buffalo, New York, filled [illegible]ace. Fillmore continues to be rated as a nonentity. [illegible] sent Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry to Japan, whereby under the next Administration, that of Franklin Pierce, the Mikado's Empire became open to the world, though as Mr. Dooley accurately described it: "We didn't go in; they kim out." They did indeed, and to-day have

become one of the New World's greatest anxieties. The Japanese alone remain grateful for the exploit.

The election of Pierce in 1852 was another echo of the Mexican War, in which he had served as a volunteer general. The Democrats wanted a Northern man who would satisfy the slaveholders, and Pierce filled the bill. He signed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and that set Kansas to bleeding. Pierce was a friend of Nathaniel Hawthorne and the best thing he did while in office was to make the author Consul at Liverpool when the fees were corpulent. Jefferson Davis was Pierce's Secretary of War, and the South dominat[illegible] his Administration. The country seemed safe, however, and the Democrats continued their rule by electing James Buchanan of Pennsylvania in 1856.

Buchanan was a swallow-tail. He had been Minis[illegible] to England and had held a Cabinet place. His pic[illegible]s show a fine old gentleman, much given to observ[illegible] proprieties and nothing else. Hist[illegible] very hard [illegible]n him. Secession began while [illegible] office and [illegible] dealt with it feebly. Yet to [illegible]s it is difficult to determine what he co[illegible]ve done. He meant well to both side[illegible] how to handle either. The rise of [illegible] from the mixed elements of F[illegible] now Nothing, and faded Whig elements w[illegible]ally a revolution. Order had ceased in American politics and chaos had come.

Yet the defeat of Democracy which produced the Civil War was not due to the new party's strength, but to Democratic dissensions. A solid Democracy would have defeated the rail-splitter. But out of the welter Abraham Lincoln was elected, and the crum-

bling of the Union began. Lincoln has become one of the immortals whose fame as a wise, just, and merciful man cannot be assailed, yet he led a party into office that was more aggressive for spoils and far less representative than the "People" of Andrew Jackson.

It is one of the cruel consequences of "party" government that success at the polls is more important than care for the public interest. This bedevils the best meaning of a President and makes his position one of the utmost difficulty. He must choose between party and people. It is not possible, in its very nature, for a party to represent the people; it represents its machinery.

This then was Lincoln's peril. He was saved from conflict with the people by the war which broke out when he had been but five weeks in office. He had no chance to show qualities of amelioration or deal in diplomacy. That he was a consummate politician goes without saying. That he became a martyr obscures this fact in popular memory. He was surrounded by politicians and spoilsmen of the most rapacious sort. His Cabinet was a conspiracy against him. Could he have enforced in it such submission as Woodrow Wilson effected in 1917–18, the war between the States would not have run half the course it did. He was bullied by Stanton, betrayed by Chase, and much perplexed by William H. Seward. Welles was a Democrat, and his only friend, but a political liability, not an asset, because of his faith. Of Stanton little need be said. He lives as a great Secretary of War, tireless and faithful. It would be easy to prove that he was something quite different. His effort to become a despot after

Lincoln's death led to the attempt to impeach the luckless Johnson. Lincoln could not live up to the civil requirements of his office because of the war, and his use of the great powers invested in him is mainly a record of incompetence and disaster. The North won, not the Government. Lincoln's fame remains, measured by emotion. Had he survived his second term it would have been established by facts.

Of Andrew Johnson it is impossible to speak fairly, for the poor man never had a chance. He was an inebriated Daniel in a political lion's den, with Zach Chandler, Thad. Stevens, and Ben Wade as the chief roarers. Three more unprincipled politicians never sat in seats of power. They beat down Johnson's hands, although he had been Lincoln's own choice.

No greater mistake was ever made than the choice of U. S. Grant for President. He was taken on the strength of his name to keep the party in power, yet it led to a great revolt that would have succeeded but for the selection of Horace Greeley to lead the opposing hosts. So we had eight years of scandal and disgrace at Washington. Grant was President in name; Roscoe Conkling the ruler, with lovely Kate Chase Sprague as his overriding influence. Politically, no record could have been worse. The public interest was ignored by the Washington cabals, and Grant, with all his noble qualities, remains the most incompetent of Presidents, gauged by the proper standard.

Now comes a paradox. The man who succeeded Grant, Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio, was not elected. An electoral commission dominated by Conkling gave him the decision over Samuel J. Tilden. Bitterly as-

sailed, with "fraud" stamped on his brow, Hayes gave us a truly honorable and proper Administration. He sustained the Constitution and saw that the laws were observed, which are the President's chief duties in time of peace. He ceased to surround the ballot boxes in the South with bayonets. He removed the garrisons and with them "carpet bag" governments. He gave the South a chance to live. He inaugurated civil service, and the U. S. dollar became worth one hundred cents by the resumption of specie payments during his stay in office. There were no scandals. Political vermin vanished from Washington. People sneered at his simple life. William M. Evarts, his chief adviser, observed that "water flowed like champagne" at White House dinners. Mrs. Hayes was a W. C. T. U. Now that Volstead rules the land this joke seems far-fetched. Champagne! What is it?

But Hayes was not ruled by Conkling. That turkey cock's sun set with Grant's going. When Garfield was elected Conkling sought to reassert his power. The bullet of an assassin ended the quarrel,—and Conkling, as a political factor. What Garfield might have been is beyond speculation. His death, however, gave the United States a good President in Chester Alan Arthur. He had been put on the ticket to placate Conkling and when he came into office Conkling was out by his own action in resigning from the Senate in search of a "vindication," which the New York State Legislature refused to give him. As a result, perhaps, Arthur's Administration was orderly, gentlemanly, and just; he, after Hayes, being the only President to keep his place, while champagne again flowed in the White

House and the cooking was much improved. Mr. Arthur was a connoisseur in canvasback and terrapin.

In considering Grover Cleveland, the first Democrat to take office after the war, much allowance must be made for the state of mind that selected him. Conkling had met with a prodigious defeat in New York when he attempted to make Charles J. Folger governor. Cleveland was elected. Logically he became the Presidential nominee of his party. He was at once called bigger than his party and, as a result, provoked some pretty rows. He went beyond the province of his office, said some epigrammatic things, and was defeated for re-election by Benjamin Harrison of Indiana.

Harrison came near to being a model President. He was a small man with a waxen face who said little and worked hard,—a grandson of the William Henry who defeated Elskawata. One of his English ancestors, a butcher by trade, lost his head by voting to amputate that of Charles the First. He was not the least bit popular with either people or politicians. He refused to be swayed by one or ruled by the other, nor did he try to run the Government uphill. Rated by the requirements he stands nearly 100 per cent. to the good. Quite naturally he was defeated for re-election.

Cleveland ran again in 1892 and came back, thanks to a populist tip-over in the West which gave James B. Weaver twenty-two electoral votes. His second term was one of trouble. The party did not obey his request to revise the tariff on a revenue basis, and he let the Wilson bill become a law without his signature. His Secretary of the Treasury dealt with Wall Street in

filling its coffers with gold needed to keep its credit sweet until forced by a newspaper, the "World," to trust the people. He did it with a growl.

Seeking an issue that would disconcert him, the Republican press and leaders seized upon a boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela to rattle his nerves,—and succeeded. To upset his enemies he challenged England to mortal combat and laid the train for a world war. The old lady was too sensible to accept the challenge, but he gave the nation a scare that wrecked the Stock Exchange for a period. The opposition was properly rebuked, but it is hard to see how he "served" the people.

Cleveland's strenuous term was followed by the Administration of William McKinley, nominated by Mark Hanna after John Sherman had been betrayed by the Ohio delegation. It has always been held to McKinley's shame that he was under Hanna's thumb. This was not true. Hanna had a curious reverence for him,—curious and unusual in that he was a strong soul. McKinley was not. He was urbane and politic. In short, a nice man. Yet Hanna was humble in his presence, deferred to and was devoted to him. He had fathered a tariff that laid many "implied obligations" on his party and was a true Ohio Republican, respectable enough to do anything and get away with it. The war with feeble Spain to "free" Cuba, was his doing. Spain thought she was yielding, but did it "tomorrow" instead of to-day.

Here again the bullet of an assassin killed a President who was improving and put a circus in the White House. I once talked with James J. Hill about Theo-

dore Roosevelt, when first in the saddle, observing: "Well, he wants to run everything."

"Yes," replied the Great Northern magnate,—"like a baseball nine."

And so it was. The Constitution took a vacation. It needed rest, perhaps, having been badly damaged during Cleveland's régime by Congressman Tim Campbell's inquiry: "What's the Constitution between friends?"

Roosevelt gave it a rest. Also the House, the Senate, and everything except the American people. He "took" Panama, decimated the Twenty-fifth Infantry, "settled" the coal strike, took E. H. Harriman's money and gave him no return, meddled with everything from childbirth to populism and had a "bully" time. No one else did. The panic of 1907, the friction with Japan, the dominance of labor unions and capitalism over the people at large, all date from him. Worse than that, with the help of William Jennings Bryan, he destroyed political opposition and made politics too one-sided to be interesting. Then he gave us William H. Taft to keep his seat warm while he went a-hunting.

Taft was long regarded as a stop-gap for Roosevelt. Indeed, he did not seem to take the office seriously. He traveled incessantly and when he did anything it had a Rooseveltian flavor. He floundered and fell when it came time to stand on his own feet. Then Roosevelt wrecked the Republican party.

It cannot be said, however, that the country profited by the débâcle. Woodrow Wilson was the outcome. Here again we had the luckless result of non-opposi-

tion in government. Shot to pieces the Republicans for the moment could provide none and Bryan had made the Democrats impotent. So one-man-government continued. Far abler and more despotic than Roosevelt, Wilson belied the name of Democrat. His Cabinet was ignored, his Ambassadors left in the dark. He dealt with important government matters through unofficial agents, whether from mistrust or impatience, it is hard to decide. He made many bad and more weak appointments; he took on his Secretary of the Treasury as a son-in-law. The World War came out of a clear sky. How did he deal with it? In three phases:

1. Too proud to fight
2. Peace without victory
3. Force without limit

He won his re-election under the first phase. The people did not wish to go to war. He could not have gotten a vote for a declaration out of Congress.

When the second phase developed he had been re-elected. Immense scorn from Republican sources welcomed his pronouncement. Like Cleveland in the Venezuela affair he avenged himself by entering promptly upon the third phase. He lived up to it. Under his vast war powers he used "force without limit," abroad and at home. He put gyves on the American people, trusting them not for a moment. He enforced a "selective" draft that "selected" everyone. He penned harmless aliens up in stockades, forced the press into an attitude of self-censoring that destroyed its usefulness and its liberties, and made himself the most powerful figure in the world at a gross outlay of $23,000,000,000. Then he invented the League of Nations, by which

some fifty-four are now successfully allied against the United States.

Throughout all, luck stood by him until his war powers ceased and he could no longer command or commission. Then the people rose and, by a vast majority—7,004,847—an unheard-of figure in American elections, repudiated Wilson and his policies. They shook off their chains and it will be many a year before they hold out their hands again for shackles.

On this mighty wave of reaction Warren G. Harding rode into office. He was a plump printer from Marion, Ohio. Statesmen had died-out in Ohio and small men with ambitious wives were pushed into power. Harding, as one of these, became United States Senator. Boies Penrose, boss of the Senate, saw in him the kind of nonentity who would fit the reaction. Like Mr. Artemus Ward he was "as genial a feller as you ever met." Now the boys in the party had been out of the crib for fifteen years. Roosevelt allowed no one to play there but himself. Under Wilson, Republicans were at a heavy discount. With Warren G. Harding they all came back. He exerted himself in no way to interfere with the orgy. Deeply disappointed, the people at large would have rended him but for his removal by death. This gave them Calvin Coolidge, close, canny and careful, who cut down taxes, kept "good fellows" at a distance, stuck to his job, and satisfied the country as none of his predecessors were able to do, but did not "choose" to continue.

In the competition for the great office, the best man has not always won, nor have the greatest of our statesmen reached the top. Rivalries, accidents and de-

sign have often changed the result fr(ı better to worse. Not all of the men who wished to be President should have been. Two, Henry Clay and Daniel Webster surely deserved it. William H. Seward and Stephen A. Douglas had real claims. Of the others—well leave it to what follows.

THE "ALSO RANS"

AARON BURR

THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT

THERE remains an ineradicable savor of the sinister about the name of Aaron Burr, third Vice-President of these United States, under Thomas Jefferson. How much of his ill-repute was deserved it is hard to say, for he had an overload of enemies, led by Jefferson, whom he came near to defeating for the high office of President, and Alexander Hamilton, whom he killed. The first was of his own political party, the second, leader of its Federalist opposition. Yet, in intellect he was the equal of either, in social attainments and ancestry, their superior. His great-great-grandmother was a sister of Sir George Downing from whose house the British Empire is ruled. For grandfather, he had the distinguished divine, Jonathan Edwards, whose lovely daughter married Aaron Burr, President of Princeton University, to whom the institution owes its firm foundation. He was half again as old as she but it was a true love match. Neither lived long, and little Aaron was left alone to face the world at three. The orphan was not poor, and his guardian and uncle, the Rev. Timothy Edwards, saw to it that he was brought up a gentle-

man. Timothy Edwards was a man of consequence at Elizabeth, N. J., where Aaron and his only sister, Sarah, were reared, Tapping Reeve, later a distinguished Connecticut jurist, being their tutor.

The two children were near of age, Sarah having been born May 3, 1754, and Aaron February 6, 1756, both at Newark, N. J. The boy soon showed signs of superiority and independence. He ran away from Tapping Reeve's teachings when four years old and was not caught for three days. He pelted a richly dressed dame with ripe cherries, and for this was "licked like a sack" by his reverend uncle. The rod was not spared in the Edwards family. He ran away again at ten and became a cabin boy on a ship ready to sail from New York. The Reverend Timothy traced him to his task and was about to collar the lad when he climbed to the cross-trees, where the good man dared not follow. From this safe strategic point he dictated honorable terms and agreed to go back to his books. He thereafter displayed such diligence that he was prepared for Princeton at eleven. The college would not accept one so young and so small. He kept up with the courses for two years and when thirteen, sought to enroll as a junior classman. This was denied him, but he was accepted as a sophomore, though two years under the required age. Dr. John Witherspoon, a scion of John Knox, was president and permitted the evasion. He was a great man, who became one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

For a year the boy wore himself to a shadow with hard study. The examinations showed him so far in the lead that he took it easy for the remaining time.

Dapper in person and neat in attire, he became much of a social figure. They called him dissipated, but the evidence is largely his own say so. He records playing one game of billiards at a tavern for money and he would never play again for a stake of any sort. He ate sparingly and seldom drank. Graduating with honors at sixteen, he could hardly have been very dissolute—especially in the Presbyterian atmosphere in which he dwelt.

He wrote brilliantly and was a match for the best of the faculty. A revival made him uncertain as to his sinful status. Consulting Dr. Witherspoon, that wise educator and sensible man told him that piety engendered under such stress was not true religion. There is no record that he was ever afterwards disturbed by pious emotions. Having ample leisure, by reason of his advanced intellectuality, he did odd things in college, notably the study of ciphers and took to the habit of writing letters to his intimates in this mystic form. Naturally secretive, this custom was continued all his life. Though retiring, he was not without friends in college, and these endured so long as they lived. Notable intimates were William Patterson, who was to grace the bench of the United States Supreme Court; Samuel Spring, later eminent as a clergyman, and Matthias Ogden, a distinguished officer in the Revolution.

The boy was Commencement orator when he graduated in 1772. Having no special call to take him away, he remained at Princeton for some months, reviewed his studies, read much, was prominent in the Clio-Sophic Society and in social affairs. In the fall of

1773 he entered the family of Dr. Edward Bellamy of Bethlehem, Connecticut, with some vague notion, it would seem, of studying theology. He left the good man in the spring of 1774, not for the pulpit, but the open road, being thereafter a pronounced liberal in thought. He now decided to take up law and did so with his former tutor, now his brother-in-law, Tapping Reeve, at Litchfield, Connecticut.

Signs of the coming revolt were visible. A Tory's house was wrecked by a Litchfield mob, whose leaders were put under arrest. Some effort was made to rescue them, in which Burr itched to join, but the crowd was cowardly and let the minions of the law hold their fellows, to the deep disgust of the law student.

Lexington and Concord followed in the early spring and the lad now began his extraordinary public career. It was well said by one who knew him that Burr was impervious to fear. His form, though slight—he was but five feet, six inches in height—was so strongly constructed that he could lift twice his weight and endure extremes of fatigue. He had studied the use of arms and military history. Thus, at nineteen, he went eagerly into the fray. July, 1775, found him among those gathered to besiege Boston, but without assignment. Learning that General Montgomery's campaign in Quebec was to be reinforced by an expedition under Benedict Arnold, to march through the forests of Maine, he went to the rendezvous at Newburyport. The troops were conveyed by sail to the mouth of the Kennebec in late September, and then began a march of fifty days, in chill autumn and early winter. Uncle Timothy sent a messenger ordering Burr home, whom

he declined to obey. He was nearly drowned in an upset. But half the force reached Quebec. There Arnold set himself down to await Montgomery, picking Burr as the messenger to the general at Montreal.

He performed the journey with skill, ingratiating himself with the French along the way. This gave him the rank of captain on Montgomery's staff. The two forces now joined and Quebec was assaulted vainly in a heavy storm of snow, on the night of December 31, 1775. Montgomery fell, and it was upon Burr's slender shoulders that he was borne to the rear. His death ended the effort, though the troops lingered until spring. Reinforcements came to the British and they retreated before them to Montreal. Burr, who had become a major, had no use for Arnold, whom he regarded as brave under excitement, but possessing no moral courage or self-respect.

He now retired from the staff, refusing to obey Arnold's request that he remain. Reaching Albany, he found his fame had gone before, and that there was an opening for him with the commander-in-chief. He joined Washington's military family at New York, May, 1776, and made himself at home in the fine mansion used as headquarters on Richmond Hill. Six weeks of solemnity in the majestic presence of Washington was all he could stand and he secured a transfer to the staff of Gen. Israel Putnam. That bluff old warrior took kindly to the unusual youth and they became great friends. Burr lived with the Putnam's at the Battery, and was a general favorite. Mrs. Putnam and the brisk young daughters adored him. He helped the general in his task of fortifying Manhattan Island. The de-

feat on Long Island led to a series of conflicts on that of Manhattan and the British won. Burr was not surprised. He thought Washington a poor general and a weak man and never changed his opinion. Curiously, Hamilton, whom Washington loved, and who followed Burr on his staff, liked the post as little.

During the conflicts that preceded the evacuation of New York, Burr distinguished himself, especially in the fight at Forty-second Street and Fifth Avenue, on September 15, 1776, when he saved Gen. Henry Knox and many men from capture.

It was while with the Putnam household that Burr met Margaret Moncrieffe, daughter of a British major, held prisoner, who became rather notorious and left an impression that Burr was the first to mislead her. It is probably untrue. She was but fourteen and the precocious boy looked always to women older than himself. It suited the lady in her later ill-repute to pin a scandal to a name already overweighted. In truth, Burr thought the clever girl was doing some dangerous spying and gave Washington warning, which led to keeping her under surveillance.

For ten months after the evacuation of New York, Burr served with Putnam, or until, in July, Washington caused him to be promoted to a lieutenant-colonelcy —the youngest in all the army to hold the rank. Colonel Malcom, who commanded the regiment, was a rich New York tradesman, who had been flattered by the position and gave liberally to the cause. He did not care for active service, and the field work fell to Burr. "You," Malcom said to his subordinate, "shall have

all the honor of disciplining and fighting the regiment, while I will be its father."

Burr gave the careless command a dose of discipline and brought it into prime order. Most of the officers were of the same type as the colonel. He got rid of them and filled their places with sterner stuff. Yet he abused no man and the cat was never used on the backs of his men. He fell upon a British raiding party that had ventured from New York to Hackensack and drove it to hasty retreat. In the course of patrolling North Jersey, he met at Paramus, Theodosia Prevost, widow of a British major, to whom he became at once attached, though she was not handsome, and much older. His mature mind found a complement; his romance followed to fulfillment.

The regiment wintered at Valley Forge, where Burr showed such resource and intrepidity that Washington gave him command at the pass by which the British might assault the wretched army shivering in their hovels. When the next campaign opened, Burr's regiment fought at Monmouth, where he thought Major-Gen. Charles Lee was right and Washington wrong. Burr was in Lord Sterling's division. Washington next sent him scouting and finally set the regiment to watching Tories around West Point. For a time he commanded the post. Remember, he was but twenty-one.

Made a full colonel, Burr was given command of the important post at White Plains, in January, 1779. Here he distinguished himself, curbing Tories and holding an unbroken line down to Kingsbridge where the British lay. He stopped brigandage on the part

of the American troops and guerillas and maintained order in Westchester. The English built a blockhouse, in what he regarded as his territory, and he promptly destroyed it, making the garrison prisoners. He had a keen military eye, had this amazing youngster.

Tyron was doing much raiding. Burr broke up the practice. He knew the former Governor of New York and greatly enjoyed besting him. So it went on until the war came to an end, finding Burr without fortune and poor in health. He decided to practice law, but was barred by not having completed his studies. Six months were spent reading law books in the office of Thomas Smith, at Haverstraw, and he then tried for admission. The lawyers had ruled that a three year apprenticeship was needed. He appeared before a judge in Albany, pleaded his service in the army as an excuse for the lack of study, was permitted to be examined and triumphantly passed, January 19, 1782. He now began to practice, first in Albany, with much success. He was twenty-six and true to Theodosia Prevost, married her, though she was ten years his senior and had two sons. The wedding occurred November 25, 1783.

Coincidentally, the British evacuated New York and Burr moving thitherto, speedily became eminent at the bar, competing much with another bright young man, Alexander Hamilton. Both were soon in politics and on opposing sides. He prospered and for a home bought the Richmond Hill mansion where he had lodged with Washington.

It could probably be proved, without much difficulty, that Burr played politics as a game, not as a

matter of principle. Well established in New York as a lawyer, he rallied a brisk following of young men who admired his wit and accepted his cynical views. "Burr's myrmidons" Hamilton called them. They surely followed their leader. He served a couple of terms in the Legislature and was a rising figure. Once he joined with Hamilton in supporting Judge Joseph C. Yates for governor, against George Clinton. Yates had helped him gain his easy admittance to the bar and Burr never forgot an obligation. Clinton won, and being shrewd, picked Burr as his attorney-general. Parton, Burr's biographer, thinks this was because he was forgiving. Instead, he was wise and saw possibilities in this capable youth.

Two weeks after the completion of the Constitution, in July, 1787, William Mooney had founded, in New York, the Columbian Order, better known as Tammany Hall. This remains the oldest political organization in the country. Burr speedily annexed it and his young aristocrats controlled its affairs. The Swartwouts, Van Nesses and their kind were very prominent, and always friends of Burr. There were no real parties, and the weight of the Hall went to where it could carry the best results for its members. So backed, Burr was in a position to travel far. He became a United States Senator in 1781, defeating Philip Schuyler and serving with industry and fidelity. Indeed, all that the man did he did well.

Burr's six years in the Senate were diligent, but uneventful. There is no record of great debates in which he shared, or of any legislation fathered. According to Rufus King, his none too friendly colleague, he was

more proficient in summing up than originating. As Jefferson's Republican Party made itself visible, he supported its views. His chief achievement was in causing the Senate to hold open sessions. He also stood with the friends of France and objected to taking John Jay from the Chief Justice's bench, to iron out the wrinkles left in his treaty with England. When Gouverneur Morris was recalled from the French mission a Senate caucus agreed on Burr as the right man to succeed him. James Madison was chairman of the committee that carried the suggestion to President Washington, who rejected it incontinentally, saying that it was his rule never to nominate anyone for public office of "whose integrity he was not assured" and he lacked this confidence in Colonel Burr, thus echoing the baleful influence of Hamilton.

This was reported to the Senate and the Committee was sent back to reaffirm its position. James Monroe was a member. Washington, with visible wrath, stood his ground, but expressed a willingness to appoint either Madison or Monroe. The caucus would name no other and so advised Jefferson as Secretary of State. He thought this was crowding the President, and did not tell him of the resolve. Monroe at last received the appointment.

In the spring of 1794, Burr's wife, "the best woman and finest lady I have ever known" as he once expressed it, died, after long suffering with cancer, leaving, besides her sons, Burr's daughter, Theodosia, then aged eleven, and all her life the pride of his heart, who took her mother's place in his deepest affections. Much of her education he gave himself, true to the

teaching instinct so strong in his ancestry, with the result that she became the best informed woman of her day. At fourteen she was mistress of his house, and met, with elegance of manner, the distinguished guests who came.

When the time arrived to select a successor to Washington, in 1796, Burr was in the field with such a following that he received thirty electoral votes, running third in the opposition to John Adams, who led with 71, Jefferson receiving 63 and Thomas Pinckney 39. Adams was thus a minority selection. With all his eminence, Burr's fences in New York fell into bad order. Hamilton, on the ground, had busied himself to such purpose as to put the State in Federalist control. John Jay had become governor, and Hamilton avenged Burr's victory over Philip Schuyler who was his father-in-law by sending the latter to the Senate by all but one vote in the Legislature, leaving Burr to begin his political life over again. He lost no time, and as a first step upward, became once more a member of the State Assembly.

Out of luck, and dispirited, he sought a commission as brigadier-general in the regular army. The President, John Adams urged his claim, but Washington demurred. "Colonel Burr is a brave and able officer," he said. "But the question is, whether he has not equal talents at intrigue." This was after he had made Hamilton Inspector General, whom John Adams described as the "most restless, impatient, artful, indefatigable and unprincipled intriguer in the United States." Victorious all around, Hamilton took on a patronizing attitude toward Burr. "Little Burr" he

called him to General Wilkinson, adding: "We have always been opposed in politics, but on good terms. We set out in the practice of law at the same time, and took opposite political directions. Burr beckoned me to follow him, and I advised him to come with me. We could not agree, but I fancy he now begins to think he was wrong and I was right."

Thus thwarted, Burr returned to New York. He sold Richmond Hill to the first John Jacob Astor for $125,000, paid his debts and resumed the practice of law. Among other smart doings he contrived a charter for the "Manhattan Company" which evaded the rule that no banks could be chartered, Hamilton having rigged an inhibition when he organized the Bank of New York. Ostensibly, it provided a water supply through private capital for the region around New York's City Hall. Some of its old wooden conduits are now and then dug up at this late day, while under the charter the great Bank of the Manhattan Company entered upon its long and honorable career. Burr, meanwhile, had been elected to the Assembly. The bank charter made a great row and he was defeated for re-election. Some scandal over the doings of the Holland land company brought on Burr's first duel, with John B. Church, a brother-in-law of Hamilton, on September 2, 1799. The affair came off at Hoboken and was somewhat farcical. No one was hurt, and both parties forgave each other.

Burr's fortunes being much bettered, he again became active in politics. The feud between John Adams and Hamilton helped the Republicans. Burr got back into the Legislature from Orange County, which was

not stirred over the bank charter. He organized his "Myrmidons" anew, drew George Clinton from retirement, and rallied beside Gen. Horatio Gates, Samuel Swartwout, Henry Rutgers and men of like quality. Clinton was anti-Jefferson and it took much persuasion to make him a Republican. Burr carried New York City. Hamilton saw in this victory peril for Federalist electors at the next Presidential election, now near, and proposed an extra session to change the methods of choosing them. Burr exposed this ruse, which died a-borning. The close clinch between the rivals was now on. Burr's leadership brought him a following and the support of many Republicans for the Presidency, with Jefferson as his chief rival. In the election of 1800, each received 73 electoral votes, Adams 65, Pinckney 64, Jay 1.

This threw the election into the House, which was Federalist in majority. It was limited in choice, however, to the two highest names on the ticket, Jefferson and Burr, both Republicans. The choice had to be made by a majority of States. Jefferson received 51 of the 106 votes, and for twenty-nine ballots there was no change. The deadlock ended on March 8th, by the election of Jefferson as President, and Burr as Vice-President. Of the two horns of the dilemma, Hamilton had chosen the one that was to become fatal to himself, and to his party, putting Jefferson in an ascendance long to be held secure.

Linked with Jefferson in high office, Burr was left to himself politically. As a Senator he had "soon inspired" Jefferson "with mistrust," as the latter wrote. They got along courteously, however. In New York

politics continued turbulent, Burr's followers and the Federalists clashing continually, while the Jefferson faction in his own party opposed him. Burr objected to the domination of Virginia in national politics and tried to turn the lead North with New York at the front. The busy Hamilton saw in the schism an opportunity to carry on his own antagonism and began a systematic campaign of innuendo and reflection against the Vice-President. This came to a head in 1804. Burr had been beaten in the State election of 1803, after a fierce conflict, and was fully aware of Hamilton's proceedings. During the campaign, a letter written by Charles D. Cooper became public, containing two expressions:

(1)—General Hamilton and Judge Kent have declared, in substance, that they looked upon Mr. Burr to be a dangerous man, and one who ought not to be trusted with the reins of government.

(2)—I could detail to you still more despicable opinion which General Hamilton has expressed of Burr.

On June 17, 1804, Burr caused William P. Van Ness, a close friend, to convey a copy of Cooper's letter to General Hamilton, with the passages marked and a note which concluded in these menacing terms:

> You must perceive, sir, the necessity of a prompt and unqualified acknowledgment or denial of the use of any such expressions which would warrant the assertions of Mr. Cooper.

Hamilton had never seen the letter. He asked time to consider until the 20th. His response equivocated and begged the question. Burr countered coldly.

Your letter of the 20th, [he wrote,] has been this day received. Having considered it attentively, I regret to find in it nothing of that sincerity and delicacy which you profess to value. Political opposition can never absolve gentlemen from the necessity of a rigid adherence to the laws of honor and the rules of decorum. I neither claim such privilege nor indulge it in others. The common sense of mankind affixes to the epithet adopted by Dr. Cooper the idea of dishonor. It has been publicly applied to me under the sanction of your name. The question is not, whether he has understood the meaning of the word, or has used it according to syntax, and with grammatical accuracy; but, whether you have authorized this application, either directly or by uttering expressions or opinions derogatory to my honor. The time 'when' is in your own knowledge, but no way material to me, as the calumny has now first been disclosed, so as to become the subject of my notice, and as the effect is present and palpable. Your letter has furnished me with new reasons for requiring a definite reply.

To Van Ness, who brought this merciless missive, Hamilton showed much concern, but instead of giving the definite response required, lamely replied that it was a letter such as he had hoped not to receive; that Mr. Burr might rather have asked him to detail his inferences, which would have been found justifiable. Should Burr take this view and withdraw the letter he would regard it as never having been sent, and continue the discussion. If not, he had nothing further to say. Burr's return response was that he felt convinced that Hamilton bore toward him a "settled and implacable malevolence" and that his "secret depredations" upon his character "must have an end." This Van Ness called to tell Hamilton verbally. He learned

that the general had given a note to Nathan Pendleton, further expressing himself, and did not deliver the message. This letter informed Burr that his style was "too peremptory," and his demands "unprecedented and unwarrantable." The result was a challenge that was at once accepted.

.For twenty-four days the parleyings went on, so secretly that not an intimation got abroad. Both men attended to business, pleading causes and going about as usual. They even met at a banquet of the Cincinnati. One word of the pending difficulty would have led to interference and prevention had it become public, as it did not. The seconds at last agreed upon the morning of July 11th as the date. Hamilton wrote his will and left behind him a long document in explanation of the position in which he found himself. With all his talent for meeting emergencies, he failed in this. A cool, clear public statement would have put Burr in the wrong; the equivocation left him in the right from the meticulous standpoint of the code duello.

The encounter thus set came off as arranged, at Weehawken, N. J., opposite New York. Burr and Van Ness were on the ground at 6:30, coming by boat from Richmond Hill. Hamilton and Pendleton came a little later. The ground was paced and the principals placed. Hamilton declined to set the hair trigger of his weapon. When the word came, Burr took careful aim and fired. Hamilton gave a convulsive leap, and as he fell his pistol was discharged, cutting a twig over Burr's head. Burr handed his pistol to Van Ness, who kept it, and went at once to his boat, leaving Hamilton to the care of Pendleton and Dr. Hosack, the surgeon.

His wound was severe and he was borne to his town house at 52 Cedar Street. By nine o'clock the news of the conflict was abroad. Intense excitement followed and widespread grief, for Hamilton was greatly beloved; his rival was not. At two o'clock on Wednesday, thirty-one hours after the event, General Hamilton died, leaving seven children and a widow, who was to survive him fifty years. Imposing services were held, while French and British warships in the bay fired minute guns. Next to the murder of Abraham Lincoln, the tragedy remains the most poignant in American political history.

The death of Hamilton roused almost universal detestation of Burr. He was astounded to find Republicans and Federalists alike vigorous in denunciation of his act. Of the Jeffersonians Burr wrote at the moment: "Our most unprincipled Jacobians are loudest in the lamentations for the death of General Hamilton, whom, for many years, they have uniformly denounced as the most detestable and unprincipled of men. The motives are obvious."

He soon deemed it wise to depart from the city to some safe solitude. He went first to the home of Commodore Thomas Truxton, at Perth Amboy, N. J., and was conveyed by carriage to Cranberry, a hamlet in South Jersey. Thence he made a round-about journey to Philadelphia, keeping incognito on the road. Here he visited at the home of Alexander J. Dallas and awaited events. Meanwhile, the coroner's jury in New York was investigating and deliberating. On August 2d, it returned a verdict against Burr and his seconds. Warrants were issued for their arrest. To avoid this,

Burr and Samuel Swartwout debarked for St. Simon's Isle on the Georgia coast. Here he was entertained for a month and then departed on a four hundred mile trip to the home of his daughter, Theodosia Burr Alston, in North Carolina. He rested a few days and then departed for Washington, which he reached coincident with his indictment in New York. No attempt was made to seize him. As he wrote his daughter:

> There has subsisted for some time a contention of a very singular nature between the two States of New York and New Jersey as to which shall have the honor of hanging the vice-president. You shall have due notice of the time and place.

Neither New York nor New Jersey in the end, claimed the honor. It was deemed seemly to let the matter drop. Burr resumed his seat as the presiding officer of the Senate and even shared in some patronage, securing the assignment of Gen. James Wilkinson as governor of the new Louisiana Territory, just bought from France. Burr presided with great dignity at the trial under impeachment of Mr. Justice Chase of the United States Supreme Court, and "with the rigor of a devil" as a current reporter wrote. He also guided the regular sessions of the Senate until the 2nd of March. On that day he bade public life farewell. With infinite grace and gravity he expressed the hope that he had been true to the responsibility of his office, and just and fair in his rulings. The Senate, itself, he regarded as the chief preserver of law, order and liberty—the place where resistance would be made to storms of political frenzy and the silent acts of corruption; where the Constitution would make its last stand

against the demagogue and the usurper. In this tone he took his leave—with prayers and good wishes for all.

So moving were his words, so deep his feeling, that the Senators were in tears as he laid down the gavel and stepped behind the curtain. It was half an hour before the body could recover its decorum and select a vice-president pro tem.

For the remaining thirty years of his life Burr's journey was down hill. His public career, so far as political preferment went, was ended. "In New York" he wrote Joseph Alston, his son-in-law, "I am to be disfranchised, and in New Jersey, hanged. Having substantial objections to both, I shall not for the present hazard either, but shall seek a new country." This resolve he undertook to carry out, with results that ended in discredit and to a trial for treason.

Among the acquaintances Burr made on the march to Quebec, was James Wilkinson, a man of audacity like himself, and though less acute more capable of covering his tracks. Their friendship was close. They corresponded regularly when apart, many of the letters being in cipher, a method Burr had taken on when a student at Princeton. Burr was slight, keen and graceful; the general big and bluff. Perhaps it was the great difference in size and temperament that endeared the general to Burr. Such affinities are common.

From 1764 to 1800, the Louisiana territory, embracing a vast country west of the Mississippi as well as the present State of that name, was in Spanish hands. By his bargain with Bonaparte, who wished to build up an anti-British empire in the New World,

President Thomas Jefferson purchased the region for $15,000,000 and the American flag went up at New Orleans on December 28, 1803.

Wilkinson and W. C. C. Claiborne were appointed the United States commissioners to attend the transfer. As before stated he owed this eminence to Burr, then vice-president, who, though not beloved by Jefferson, wielded great influence in party politics. So they were near together in interest when Burr's pistol-shot killed Hamilton and destroyed the former's career. Claiborne became governor, and Wilkinson, military commander. In 1805 Jefferson gave him both offices. That he managed to adjust his relations with both Jefferson and Burr, so as to keep the favor of one and enjoy the confidence of the other is a tribute to his skill as a balancer. Burr, disfranchised in New York, and ostracized, was looking about for a place. He wanted to be given a foreign embassy, and Wilkinson sought the aid of Matthew Lyon, a belligerent Jeffersonian who had left Vermont for Kentucky, to ask the President for such an appointment. Lyon had no liking for Burr, and told Wilkinson the thing was impossible. Wilkinson then urged Lyon to suggest something that "would do for the little counsellor." Lyon suggested that Burr should gain a Nashville residence, and later, stand for a seat in Congress, which he thought could be readily acquired. "This will do! It is a heavenly thought," responded Wilkinson, "worthy of him who thought it." The interview occurred in Washington where Burr was still living. Lyon went to Burr's lodgings on an appointment made by the general, and was politely received. The suggestion did

not stir the Vice-President, the end of whose term was near. He did say he was engaged in looking up a western land proposition, and, in the spring, was going via the river route to look into it. In other conversations held later, Burr brought up the embassy suggestion, intimating anew that Lyon might mention it to Jefferson. He replied flatly that he would not dare do such a thing.

Burr had some business engagements in Philadelphia, whither he went from Washington early in March, 1805. On April 10th, he departed from Pittsburgh. Floating down the Ohio he paused at an island forty miles above Cincinnati, where Harman Blennerhassett, a romantic Irishman with a charming wife, had set up a splendid establishment. The courteous Burr soon made himself at home, with consequences disastrous to his hosts. After an agreeable stay he went on down the river and up the Cumberland to Nashville, calling on Lyon at Eddyville, Kentucky, where he then resided. He questioned Lyon about the chance of getting a seat in Congress and was told that he had delayed too long. Burr then intimated that he would seek a seat in the New Orleans territory, if a Tennessee opening was impossible. This proved to be the case. Burr did not show much concern, somewhat to the vexation of Lyon. "There seemed to be too much mystery in his conduct," Lyon wrote later. "I suspected him to have other objects in view, through which I could not penetrate. These objects I then believed, were known to General Wilkinson."

Burr remained four days in Nashville as the guest of Andrew Jackson. Leaving, he went down the river

to the Ohio and thence to Fort Massac, a former French post, where he met Wilkinson enroute to New Orleans and his government. Jonathan Dayton, who was to be joined in his further activities, was also there, and others who were to be interested. Wilkinson declared they discussed the building of a canal around the Falls of the Ohio at Louisville and nothing more. Even so, he gave Burr letters to leading citizens at New Orleans and loaned him "an elegant barge, sails, colors and ten oars, with a sergeant and ten able, faithful hands" to convey him to that city, which he reached on June 23, 1805.

One of the letters given Burr by Wilkinson was to Daniel Clark, a leading merchant. It read:

> This will be delivered to you by Colonel Burr, whose worth you know well how to estimate. If the persecutions of a great and honorable man can give title to generous intentions, he has claim to all your attentions and all your services. You cannot oblige me more than by such conduct, and I pledge my life to you, it will not be misapplied. To him I refer you for many things improper to letter, and which he will not say to any other. I shall be at St. Louis in two weeks, and if you were there, we could open a mine, a commercial one, at least.

With this, and other introductions, Burr was gloriously received. Claiborne, retiring governor, gave him a dinner and banquets were the order of the day in the hospitable city, then numbering around nine thousand souls. Any purpose he might have had of settling humbly in Nashville, was quite dispelled by all the glory here accorded him. He began to feel the emotions of a Napoleon.

Wilkinson's thoughts that he could not "letter," are echoed in another missive he wrote at the time to Gen. John Adair, of Kentucky, an old army comrade:

I was to have introduced my friend Burr to you, but in this I failed by accident. He understands your merits and reckons on you. Repair to me and I will tell you *all*. We must have a peep at the unknown world beyond me.

Reaching St. Louis, Wilkinson sought to interest Major Bruff in "a grand scheme" that would "make the fortune of all concerned," but did not succeed in the endeavor.

Clark and Burr got on famously, but the former denies in a book he wrote later, "Proofs of the corruption of Gen. James Wilkinson, and of his connection with Aaron Burr," that Burr broached any project of any sort, while he insists that Wilkinson, in approaching Major Bruff, indulged in "a phillipic against Democracy, and the ingratitude of republican governments."

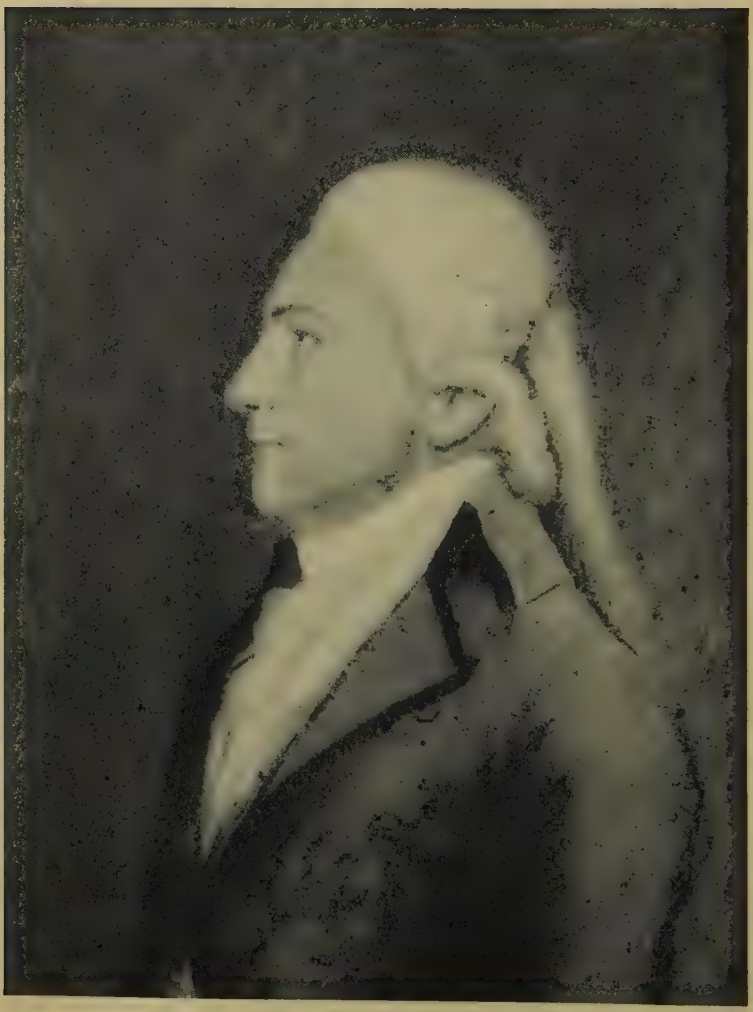
Burr came North by land. It was before the days of steamboats and the rivers were difficult of ascent. He rode horses provided by Clark to Natchez, crossed to Nashville, which he reached on August 6th, and became again the guest of Andrew Jackson. He next made a triumphal trip across Kentucky, meeting, and fascinating, Henry Clay on the road.

Some inkling of his purpose, or those of Wilkinson and himself, must have reached the Spaniards, whose territory touched the east side of the river, and who held Baton Rouge. They had a good spy system in

New Orleans. Clark was included in the rumors and wrote Wilkinson a long disclaimer, that may have been meant as a blind, complaining how the story of a possible expedition was interfering with a large business speculation he was about to put over at Vera Cruz. Wilkinson treated it as a "tale of a tub" and gave Clark no more consolation. He may have been selling his friend out at the time. Clark evidently came finally to that conclusion.

Burr and Wilkinson met again in St. Louis in September. In his memoirs he records Burr as strangely altered; as one meditating on great projects and full of the belief that the Southwest was disaffected against the Government. He sets himself down as controverting this view. He feared that Burr "had conceived some dangerous and desperate enterprise," and called upon Governor William Henry Harrison of Indiana, to ask if he could not secure a seat for Burr in Congress, to head him off in his designs. This was all written after the wreck of Burr's enterprise and can be taken with many grains of salt. He also confesses to warning a number of Jefferson's Cabinet to "keep an eye on Burr." Yet all this while the cipher correspondence went on, Burr sending him six letters in code between September, 1805 and May, 1806.

Burr went East in October. He paid a visit to the Blennerhassetts on their island and spent a week in Washington during November. He was well received and Jefferson had him to dinner at the White House. There had been fears of war with Spain. Wilkinson had been busily fortifying and getting things in shape for a possible conflict with the Spanish. Burr happened



AARON BURR
From a painting by J. Sharples, the Elder

to say at the dinner that a certain road on one of his maps sent the War Department was only on the map. He called on Jefferson the next day to explain it away to ward harm from Wilkinson. Incidentally, he heard that the Spanish danger was past. Of this he informed Wilkinson in one of the cipher letters. He took advantage of meeting Jefferson to suggest his need of employment. To this Jefferson, in his notes, avers that he told Burr that while he appreciated his abilities, the loss of public confidence prevented acceding to his request. This Burr received in good spirit and they dined together again—each perhaps feeling the other out and dissembling a bit! The door to public employment was, however, definitely closed.

So circumstanced, and having been much adulated in the South and West, Burr's mind must have readily reverted to Wilkinson's "unknown world beyond me." That gentleman had now been confirmed in the Governorship about which there had been doubts, and so had, perhaps, softened somewhat in his views concerning the ingratitude of republics.

Where did the general's idea breed of an invasion of Spanish territory and setting up a Southwestern dominion? Parton thinks, and probably correctly, that it grew out of the schemes of Gen. Don Francisco Miranda to free Venezuela, fostered in New York, where he met both Burr and Wilkinson, having been financed by Burr's friend, Samuel G. Ogden, and his partner, William S. Smith.

Did he inspire Burr? The answer made by Burr is that he did not; that to the contrary he inspired Wilkinson, who in turn, it is implied by what followed,

turned the idea of seizing a slice of Spanish possessions over to Burr, with a proposition to share in the enterprise. This looks reasonable. Miranda sailed away in the *Leander* with the first body of American filibusters, failed and ended his days in a Spanish cell at Cadiz. He had done valiant deeds as a general under Dumoriez in the first days of the French republic.

Burr's reflex of Miranda is found in his correspondence. Writing from Washington under date of March 20, 1806, to an officer in West Tennessee, he said:

> The object of the Administration appears to be to treat for the purchase of the Florida, and the secret business which so long occupied Congress is believed to be an appropriation of two millions of dollars for that purpose. . . .
>
> But notwithstanding the pacific temper of our Gov't there is great reason to expect hostility, arising out of the expedition under General Miranda. This expedition was fitted out at New York and the object is pretty well known to be an attempt to Revolutionize the Caracas. . . . It would not surprise me if on a knowledge of these facts at Paris and Madrid our vessels in the ports of these kingdoms should be seized and measures taken for the reduction of Orleans. If these apprehensions should be justified by events, a military force on our part would be requisite and that force might come from your side of the mountains. . . .
>
> Your country is full of fine materials for an army and I have often said that a Brigade could be raised in West Tenn. . . . I take the liberty of recommending to you to make out a list of officers from Colonel down to Ensign for one or two regiments, composed of fellows fit for business and with whom you would trust your life and your honor. . . .

Burr records that on meeting Wilkinson in St. Louis,

after Miranda's fizzle, the general said he "feared Miranda had taken the bread out of his mouth"—whatever that may have meant.

Coincident with his interview with Jefferson, Burr received a note from Blennerhassett wishing to know what had become of the "project" they had discussed. Burr replied that he still had it in mind. That he was pursuing it actively is shown in a cipher note sent the next day to Wilkinson, which stated, among other things, that delay had been caused by low water in the Ohio, but this, while irksome, would "enable us to move with more certainty and dignity." Also, "The association is enlarged and comprises all Wilkinson could wish. Confidence limited to a few." By this it may be assumed Burr recognized the general as a full partner.

The Spanish situation suddenly became aggressive. In June their troops, to the number of 1,200, advancing by way of Texas, reached about twenty miles from Nachitoches. Wilkinson moved six hundred regulars, all he had, toward the point in danger, and manned the New Orleans forts with militia. The country was keen for conflict. This Wilkinson might readily have begun, as Zachary Taylor did 40 years later, and Texas have been ours without further delay. Parton infers that a gesture from Napoleon stopped our aggression. This did move Jefferson. Daniel Clark thought the viceroy's purse, previously tapped, stalled Wilkinson.

Whether for a blind or as a real purpose of colonization, in July, 1806, Burr purchased a large tract on the Washita, drawing upon the savings of relatives, his own credit and the pockets of devoted friends. He

enlisted a number of valorous young gentlemen, including Samuel Swartwout of New York, Dr. Eric Bollman, a German who had tried to rescue Lafayette from prison, Marinus Willett, later Mayor of New York; a son of Matthias Ogden and Comfort Tyler of Canandaigua, who raised a company in Central New York, in which there were four or five Creels, and at least one by the name of George, all of whom engaged to rendezvous at Blennerhassett's Island. Burr made his headquarters at Philadelphia, cultivating two men who were aggrieved at the Jefferson government—Commodore Thomas Truxton and "General" William Eaton, the Connecticut schoolmaster, who had almost taken North Africa in the war on the Barbary corsairs. Both were having trouble to adjust their claims.

William Pitt died January 6, 1806, and this shifted European politics. Perhaps this was the cause of giving Wilkinson cold feet. The conspirators had hopes of British support against an administration whose sympathies were with France.

Burr's real purpose has never been accurately revealed. Parton inferred that in the event of war he planned to invade and seize Mexico; if none broke out, to build up his colony on the Washita. Whatever it was he embarked for Blennerhassett's Island, with his daughter, Mrs. Theodosia Alston, and on arriving there, busied himself with preparations, collecting flatboats, men and provisions. Thence he sent Samuel Swartwout, with a package of dispatches, to Wilkinson, while he traveled all over the adjacent region hunting support and recruits. While in Kentucky he was cited to appear in court and answer to the charge

of engaging in an unlawful enterprise. He duly presented himself at Frankfort to answer, with Henry Clay as his counsel. Jo Daviess, the U. S. District Attorney, had no evidence. So the Grand Jury was dismissed. Burr and General John Adair were now accused jointly and another appearance in court resulted. The Grand Jury refused to indict either of the gentlemen. Clay had exacted from Burr an explicit disavowal of any overt design against his country before he would appear in the case. He was now free to go about his business.

Fifteen barges were building at Marietta. More were to come down the Cumberland, and all were to unite at the mouth of that river to follow their leader whereever he chose to go. This was well arranged when something happened.

Samuel Swartwout found Governor Wilkinson much disturbed when he came upon him at Nachitoches on October 8, 1806. He first presented a simple letter of introduction, such as one friend might give another, and being well received, delivered a note in cipher, which read:

Yours, post marked 13th of May, is received. I, Aaron Burr, have obtained funds, and have actually commenced the enterprise. Detachments from different points, and under different pretenses, will rendezvous on the Ohio, 1st November —everything, internal and external, favors views; protection of England is secured. T—— is going to Jamaica to arrange with the admiral on that station; it will meet on the Mississippi. ——, England, ——, navy of the United States are ready to join, and final orders are given to my friends and followers: it will be a host of choice spirits. Wilkinson shall

be second to Burr only, Wilkinson shall dictate the rank and promotion of his officers. Burr will proceed westward, 1st August, never more to return; with him goes his daughter; the husband will follow in October with a corps of worthies.

Send forth an intelligent and confidential friend with whom Burr may confer; he shall return immediately with further interesting details; this is essential to concert and harmony of movement. Send a list of all persons known to Wilkinson, west of the mountains, who may be useful, with a note delineating their characters. By your messenger send me four or five commissions of your officers, which you can borrow under any pretense you please; they shall be returned faithfully. Already are orders to the contractors given to forward six months' provisions to points Wilkinson may name; this shall not be used until the last moment, and then under proper injunctions. The project is brought to the point so long desired. Burr guaranties the result with his life and honor, with the honor, and fortunes of hundreds of the best blood of our country.

Burr's plan of operation is, to move down rapidly from the Falls on the 15th of September, with the first 500 or 1,000 men in light boats, now constructing for that purpose, to be at Natchez between the 5th and 15th of December; there to meet Wilkinson; there to determine whether it will be expedient in the first instance to seize on or pass by Baton Rouge. On receipt of this send an answer. Draw on Burr for all expenses, etc. The people of the country to which we are going, are prepared to receive us. Their agents, now with Burr, say, that if we will protect their religion, and will not subject them to a foreign power, that in three weeks all will be settled. The gods invite to glory and fortune; it remains to be seen whether we deserve the boom. The bearer of this goes express to you; he will hand a formal letter of introduction to you from Burr. He is a man of inviolable honor and perfect discretion; formed to execute rather than to project; capable of relating facts with fidelity, and incapable of relating them

otherwise. He is thoroughly informed of the plans and intentions of Burr, and will disclose to you as far as you inquire and no further. He has imbibed a reverence for your character, and may be embarrassed in your presence. Put him at ease, and he will satisfy you.

For further assurance Swartwout gave Wilkinson a letter from Jonathan Dayton, another friend of the general and of Burr, reading:

Dear Sir: It is now well ascertained that you are to be displaced in next session. Jefferson will affect to yield reluctantly to the public sentiment, but yield he will. Prepare yourself, therefore, for it. You know the rest. You are not a man to despair, or even despond, especially when such prospects offer in another quarter. Are you ready? Are your numerous associates ready? Wealth and glory, Louisiana and Mexico! I shall have time to receive a letter from you before I set out for Ohio. Address one to me here, and another in Cincinnati. Receive and treat my nephew affectionately as you would receive your friend.

Dayton.

Does it seem possible that a man of Burr's astuteness, or one of Dayton's experience, would write such letters, except to a thoroughly committed associate? Certainly no conspirator was ever in a more critical position. Wilkinson had either led Burr on, or the latter had assumed too much. In any event, the crisis was at hand; just how near Wilkinson did not know. He lost no time in deciding to betray his devoted friend. Spending much of the night deciphering the message, he called in Colonel Cushing, his second in command, and revealed the contents of the letter, so

far as he had been able to translate it—which was far enough—as Wilkinson put it, to discover that Burr's object was "treasonable." Swartwout was entertained in camp by the dissembling warrior, until October 18th, when he departed for New Orleans to await, quite unsuspectingly, the arrival of the flotilla. Wilkinson, meanwhile, with almost uncanny craft, caused Lieutenant Smith to "resign" as a cover to his being sent as a messenger to President Jefferson, with a full revelation of the plot. For this purpose he gave the young man $500, and hurried him off. Some sort of a note he also wrote Burr, but recalled it.

The revelation reached Jefferson on November 25, 1806. He issued a proclamation on November 27th, warning against unlawful enterprises. He did not name Burr, nor had Wilkinson done so in his dispatches. By whatever form of persuasion, he and the Spanish commander agreed not to fight, and the latter took his departure from the border with all his men. Returning to New Orleans, the general began preparations with much noise to defend that city from his former associate. He proclaimed martial law, warned the British admiral at Jamaica of the coming of the filibusters (with whom he was supposed to be allied), and in public addresses, managed to create immense excitement, taking pains all the while to cover his own tracks well. The whole city put itself under arms, and the streets were watched by a night patrol. Stockades were thrown up and outposts established. Swartwout, his friend, young Ogden, General John Adair and Dr. Bollman, were found in the city, arrested and sent by schooner to Baltimore, whence they

were taken to Washington and discharged for lack of evidence.

Meanwhile, no army came to seize New Orleans and Burr's friends in the city bestirred themselves. The florid general was soon made to appear ridiculous. The Grand Jury denounced his measures as illegal and unconstitutional. Jefferson complimented him and he withstood the clamor.

The Government now began to look up Burr. One Graham, a special secret agent, was sent to Marietta to find out what was going on. He pretended to be a recruit, and the joyous Blennerhassett told him all he knew. On his report the Governor of Ohio called out the militia and captured the fifteen bateaux. Word of this reaching the island, and expecting a raid, the party there assembled slipped away down the river, leaving Mrs. B. to follow with her children. The militia called and wrecked the beautiful mansion.

Burr was on a visit to Nashville, when the President's proclamation arrived. He left hurriedly and met the men from the island at the mouth of the Cumberland. They were but few. He did not dream that Wilkinson had betrayed him, and went openly down the river, making calls on friends until, reaching Bayou Pierre, thirty miles north of Natchez, he learned the truth and faced a proclamation of the Governor of Mississippi calling for his capture. He issued a counter reply, but a force was sent against him. He surrendered his person, gave bail in $10,000 to await action of the Grand Jury, which promptly released him, with a presentment denouncing military arrests. The court refused to dismiss the case and Burr slipped across the

river, with the purpose of reaching the Spanish settlement at Pensacola. The men were held a while and then scattered, many remaining in the neighborhood, supplying it, as the attorney general observed, with "a superfluity of schoolmasters, dancing masters and music masters."

Burr, halting on his way, was identified at Wakefield, Alabama, and detained while word was sent to Capt. E. P. Gaines of Fort Stoddard, who waylaid the adventurer on the road out of the village the next morning and arrested him "at the instance of the Federal Government." He was taken to the fort a prisoner and sent overland to Richmond, where he was indicted for treason and put in the penitentiary for safe-keeping until time for trial.

John Marshall, a Federalist, was the presiding judge. William Wirt prosecuted. Edmund Randolph, John Wickham and Luther Martin led the defense. It was a great trial, but no overt act could be proven against Burr, and the jury brought in a verdict of not guilty. Indicted for misdemeanor, he was also acquitted on the ground that the offense, if any, was committed in Ohio. The case against Burr failing, such of his associates as were accused, also went free.

Keen judge of character as Burr was deemed to be, he erred sadly in making Wilkinson his confidant. How far he had been led to believe that the general accepted his plans and proposed to promote them was never made plain by either. At the Richmond trial, Burr was contemptuous of his old comrade, but did not flay him. Wilkinson was a fussy witness and his revelations were minimized by his admission that he

had made some alterations in the text of the cipher letter, though these did not, apparently affect its meaning. At any rate, after the acquittal of Burr, Wilkinson was much discredited. He was kept under fire. Many believed that he had sold Burr twice—once to the Spanish Viceroy of Mexico, and once to Thomas Jefferson.

It was openly charged that, after the suppression of Burr's attempt, Wilkinson sent one Walter Burling to the Spanish Viceroy with a bill for $200,000, to compensate himself for services rendered Spain in heading off the raid. In support, the widow of the Viceroy repeated this story to Col. Richard Raynal Keene, an officer in the Mexican service. Father Patrick Mangan, an Irish priest who acted as interpreter for Burling, gave like testimony. He said the request was "contemptuously refused" by the Viceroy, who expelled the emissary from Mexico. Colonel Keene, who became a lawyer in New Orleans, put his statement on record in his own affidavit, together with a statement signed by the lady. These, with Dr. Mangan's declaration, were placed on file in New Orleans. It was further averred that Wilkinson had been in receipt of a pension or some sort of allowance from Spain. His position became so unpleasant that he gave up the command of the Army, December 18, 1809, and remained on waiting orders until September 2, 1811, when he was placed on trial before a court martial at Frederickstown, Maryland, on a charge of receiving bribes from the Spanish government. The trial lasted until December 25, 1811. He was acquitted and restored to command in the Louisiana territory, with headquarters at New Orleans. His

services to Jefferson evidently stood him in good stead with President James Madison.

When freed after the fiasco Burr made his way to Europe, where he spent five years in wandering. He earned the distinction of being held in Paris by Napoleon, getting away at last through the kindly intercession of James Madison. His lovely daughter, Theodosia Burr Alston, was lost at sea with a vessel that left no trace behind. Some think she was sunk by pirates. There were plenty of them about at the time operating out of the Cuban keys.

Burr came back to New York bowed with grief and older than his years. Active hostility had died down, but he had lost his place in the parade. Setting up as a lawyer, mistrust kept his dockets small and he eked out only a poor living, much hunted by creditors and shunned by all but a faithful few. When seventy-eight, nearly fifty years after his first marriage, he wedded Madame Jumel, a rich and ancient dame. The union was, naturally, unhappy. The town laughed at the alliance of the venerable lovers, and the lady put him out of her great mansion on Washington Heights. September 14, 1836, his blighted life came to an end at the age of eighty years, seven months and eight days. He is buried at Princeton, under a block of marble on which is carved:

Aaron Burr
Born February 6th, 1756
Died September 14th, 1836.
A Colonel in the Army of the Revolution
Vice-President of the United States from 1801 to 1805

With all the turmoil of his days, he died gently, "without a struggle or a sigh," a man without a country, yet loving the one that had spurned him as few men do!

II

WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD

LAST OF A DYNASTY

THOUGH party government prevails in the United States the Constitution does not provide for it. Under it States choose electors in such manner as their legislators may decree. In the beginning the man receiving the highest number of votes became President, the next highest, Vice-President. After Jefferson's contest with Burr he inserted Article XII, by which each office is made distinctive in selection. "The Electors" it states "shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President one of whom at least shall not be a resident of the same state with themselves"—just why is not now clear, unless to prevent domination by some powerful unit, such as Virginia was.

There were no conventions. Candidates were selected for the Electors to vote upon by Congressional caucuses. So "King Caucus" came into being and grew to be very offensive. This was of course "representative government" that never represented. Under the system a dynasty was natural. Men took turns instead of going before the people. By this method Thomas Jefferson extinguished Federalism. During his eight years in office he constructed his "Republican" party,

now the Democratic. It was more a name than an institution. When his term expired he replaced himself with James Madison for eight more years. The Federalists of New England had tried to organize a Northern Secession at Hartford in December, 1814, and were too discredited to affect the choice of Madison's successor.

In 1816 the successorship to Madison lay between William H. Crawford of Georgia and James Monroe of Virginia. There was already dissent over the long rule of Virginia and surviving Federalists in New England were eager to break the chain. They were impotent, however, as were the Republicans of the North who fell in behind Governor Daniel D. Tompkins of New York as their choice, with Crawford second. A caucus of Republican members of Congress met to pick the man whom the Electors were expected to ratify. Tompkins was out of it from the start, so the opposition to Virginia concentrated on Crawford. He received fifty-four votes, Monroe sixty-five. Tompkins was named for Vice-President, while Crawford was kept content with an assurance that he would be permitted to succeed Monroe.

Monroe was swallowed but with some gagging. In commenting upon the choice, Aaron Burr had written his son-in-law, Governor Joseph Alston of South Carolina, that the congressional caucus nominations were "hostile to all freedom and independence of suffrage" while "a certain junta of actual and factitious Virginians, having had possession of the government for thirty-four years, consider the United States as their property, and by bawling 'support the administration'

have so long succeeded in duping the Republican public." Benton asserts that "a generous and honorable feeling would not allow Crawford to become the competitor of his friend," Monroe. That is to say he did not compete with him in the electoral college, having been definitely assured that his turn would come next.

Though he has faded from men's memory, William H. Crawford was a distinguished personage in his day and generation. He was a Virginian by birth, coming into the world in Nelson County, February 24, 1772. In 1779 his father removed to Stevens Creek, Edgefield district, South Carolina. Here he suffered at British hands during the Revolution, being kept some months in Camden jail. In 1783 he settled with his family on Kiokee Creek, in Georgia. The boy William had a scant education, but enough to do a little teaching himself. Dr. Moses Waddell opening Carmel Academy, at Columbia, he entered and took a classical course, for two years, acting as usher during the second year. In 1796 and 1797 he was English instructor at Richmond Academy and in 1798 became Rector thereof. All this time he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1798, entirely self taught. He set up an office in Oglethorpe County, practicing in what was called the Western circuit, soon becoming its leading lawyer. For four years he represented the county in the Georgia legislature. He was appointed to the United States Senate in 1807 and elected at the end of his term. He was the "Ajax of the Senate" according to Thomas H. Benton "and was the conspicuous mark in the body then pre-eminent for its able men. He had a copious, ready and powerful elocution and had con-

Photograph by Herbert Photos., Inc.

WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD

tinually on his hands the splendid array of Federal gentlemen who then held empire in the Senate chamber. Senatorial debate was of a high order then—a rivalship of courtesy as well as of talent; and the feeling of respect for him was not less in the embattled phalanx of opposition than in the admiring ranks of his own party."

He had scoffed at Madison's hesitation in going to extremes with England but won the profound regard of the President through standing firmly by him in the war-time of 1812–13, and was selected to be Minister to France. It was his preference to remain in the Senate. He told Madison truly that if he left it, the administration would lose that body, but the President felt his firm mind and steadiness of purpose were needed in Paris. Accordingly he accepted the mission, while Madison lost the Senate. As Thomas H. Benton well put it: "Great events took place while he was there. The great Emperor fell; the Bourbons came up and fell. The Emperor re-appeared and fell again. But the interests of the United States were kept untangled in European politics; and the American Minister was the only one that could remain at his post in all these sudden changes. At the marvelous return from Elba he was the sole foreign representative remaining in Paris. Personating the neutrality of his country with decorum and firmness, he succeeded in commanding the respect of all, giving offence to none."

His great size and grand manner greatly impressed Napoleon. When he was presented at court the Emperor "complimented the Americans present upon the grand air of their representative." Returning from

France in 1815 he served Madison briefly as Secretary of War and in 1816, as Secretary of the Treasury. President Monroe re-appointed him to this office, a post he filled during the eight years of the latter's incumbency. The country was without a banking or currancy system save for a meager coinage and local note issues. Crawford therefore felt the need of a United States Bank, not only to facilitate the workings of the Treasury but to give the country a fiscal system that could be relied upon to handle its business safely. His influence procured a charter for the institution which was to be destroyed by Andrew Jackson, in an era when Jeffersonian "Republicans" had given way to Jacksonian Democracy.

Crawford's position in the powerful office of Secretary of the Treasury enabled him to build up strong support for himself in Congress. He caused a tenure act, fixing official terms for Federal appointees at four years, to be passed in 1820. For this he was accused of establishing a spoils system. He was not always in accord with Monroe who thought his secretaries should act in harmony with his views, or remain quiescent. Crawford replied that he exercised his personal rights and not his official ones in his attitude and with this Monroe had to be satisfied. The man was always independent. Though from the South he had joined in the Federalist objection to Jefferson's embargo policy. He had previously stood by President John Adams in his anti-French attitude. Though Monroe accepted Crawford's assurance there was considerable belief that he was trying to form a new party—indeed one was badly needed. John C. Calhoun, who was Secretary of War,

was Crawford's rival in the leadership of the farther South. Naturally the two did not get on well. The President really had too much talent in his official family. He could not control it, nor could he devise policies all would accept. Even the Monroe Doctrine had a hard time a-borning.

Crawford sat serenely in the Treasury awaiting his turn at the Presidency with every assurance of success, only to be suddenly surprised by the appearance in the field of a swarm of candidates. The most formidable of these were Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina. Adams had forsaken Federalism and become a Jeffersonian. Coincident with the coming of these rivals into the arena, Crawford was stricken with paralysis. He held on to his office as Secretary of the Treasury but was confined to a house in the country and had to leave his campaign to the efforts of others.

Jackson came to the encounter as an avowed enemy. When Secretary of War for Madison, Crawford had decided against the general in favor of a claim made by the Cherokees for a share in lands from which the Creeks had been dispossessed by him. This Crawford did after hearing both sides, leaving Jackson to feel that he had been humiliated before his foes. Again, when Jackson's aggressions against the Spanish in Florida came under question in Madison's cabinet it was urged by John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, that Jackson should be put under arrest and held for a court of inquiry. The step was not taken, but the suggestion leaked out, through a Nashville newspaper,

credited, however, to Crawford, who, if aware of it, did not deny it at the time for the excellent reason that Cabinet secrets could not be discussed by members. If Calhoun knew of the mistake in Jackson's mind he did not rectify it. So it festered, with consequences. Crawford's partisans concealed his true condition. He was bolstered up and driven in a carriage through the streets of Washington to show that he was alive and almost well. His physician put out a bulletin in January, 1824, affirming that he had conquered his malady and was sure to recover. His faithful friend, Joseph B. Cobb, knew better, though aiding in the pretense. "As an honest man" he confessed afterwards, "I am bound to admit that Crawford's health though improving affords cause for objection. He is very fat, but his speech and vision are imperfect and the paralysis of his hand continues. His speech improves slowly. His right eye is so improved that he sees well enough to play whist as well as an old man without spectacles. His hand also gets stronger. Yet defect in all these members is but too evident."

Crawford hurriedly sought to repair damages by making a combination with New York through Martin Van Buren, that would ensure control of the electoral college. "Crawford" records Joseph B. Cobb, "being at the head of a dominant and powerful party in Georgia, resolved upon a stroke of policy, which unseemly as it might and did appear even to his own friends, it was hoped might win to his support the great state of New York. This was none other than the nomination of Van Buren for the Vice-Presidency by the state of Georgia. The project was no sooner made known than

carried out, for Crawford's wish was law to his party in that state. The nomination was made reluctantly by the Crawford party, and was received with laughter and ridicule by his old enemies in Georgia, the Clarkites."

These reprehensible persons went so far as to make all manner of fun of Van Buren, caricaturing him as half man, half fox, or half mink, half snake, and sometimes half monkey. In short the choice was vilified and ridiculed beyond measure. If this tactical error were not enough Crawford was basely attacked from the rear by what became known as "the A. B. Plot." On April 19, 1823, Henry Clay, Speaker of the House, laid before that body a letter from Ninian Edwards, late senator from Illinois, recently appointed Minister to Mexico. En route for his post he had paused on the way to indite a series of charges against the Secretary of the Treasury. There were six counts, serious enough to secure impeachment. All of them Edwards declared could be proven. These were backed up by a cluster of newspaper clippings signed "A. B." Edwards explained that he was the author of the articles, all of which had been published in a Washington newspaper opposed to Crawford's candidacy and supporting that of John C. Calhoun. It was edited by a clerk in the War Department of which Calhoun was Secretary, and obviously a campaign canard. Edwards asked for an investigation, just as Congress was about to adjourn and being himself out of reach was voted to have played a scurvy trick in the behest of Calhoun. The friends of Crawford asked at once for the appointment of an investigating committee. It was named and sent the sergeant-

at-arms after the accusing Edwards. He was overtaken 1500 miles from Washington and brought back, but not until Congress had adjourned and Crawford had supplied the committee with what John Randolph of Roanoke called "a triumphant and irresistible vindication; the most temperate, passionless, mild, dignified and irrefragible exposure of falsehood that ever met a base accusation, and without a harsh word towards their author."

The convened committee made up a report fully exonerating Crawford before Edwards appeared. It examined him, however, but he could prove nothing. The committee then issued a supplementary report to the effect "that nothing had been proved to impeach the integrity of the Secretary or to bring into doubt the general correctness and ability of his administration of the public finances." When the testimony was given out it appeared that Edwards had denied the authorship of the articles and recanted his charges. He resigned his appointment to Mexico and went back to hide in Illinois. His son Ninian W. Edwards became a brother-in-law of Abraham Lincoln.

Thomas Jefferson, who admired Crawford, wrote to Richard Rush concerning the "A. B." conspiracy in June, 1824: "A baseless and malicious attack on Mr. Crawford has produced from him so clear, so incontrovertible and so temperate a justification of himself as to have added much to the strength of his interest. The question will ultimately be, as I suggested in a former letter to you, between Crawford and Adams, with this in favor of Crawford, that although many states have a different first favorite, he is the second,

with nearly all, and that if it goes into the Legislature he will surely be elected."

The sage of Monticello, it will be perceived, took no cognizance of Andrew Jackson nor conceived the part to be taken by Henry Clay.

It is possible that the urbanity of Crawford's disclaimer was due to Asbury Dickens, a Treasury clerk, who wrote it, for the Secretary's hand could not then or thereafter hold a pen.

It had not been his policy to deal tenderly with traducers. He had fought a duel with Peter Lawrence Van Allen, solicitor general of the Western circuit, and killed him. Van Allen came from New York and was a relative of Martin Van Buren. In another affair of honor with John C. Clark, governor of Georgia, a political foe, the governor was the better shot and wounded the statesman. He also continued to be his opponent and the "Clarkites" mentioned by Cobb were his following.

With a caucus impending, Washington swarmed with politicians during February, 1824, there to bring all possible pressure upon the congressmen who were to control it. The excitement broke up the business of Congress. All of the candidates except Crawford were opposed to a caucus, wishing to go openly before the electoral delegates. The country at large and the newspapers were mainly of the same mind. The paralytic alone was unchanged.

Twenty-four members of Congress signed a notice in which they expressed themselves as deeming it inexpedient "to meet in caucus and name candidates for President and Vice-President." At the same time ten

members signed a call for a caucus to be held on July 14th. It met in public but only a few spectators attended what was to be the last gathering of its kind. In all sixty-six congressmen were present, representing besides two proxies. In the balloting that followed Crawford received sixty-four votes, John Quincy Adams two, Andrew Jackson one and Nathaniel Macon one. Albert Gallatan was named for Vice-President by a vote of fifty-seven. The two were declared the regular Republican nominees. They were not accepted. Various conventions were held over the country in which Jackson and Adams led with John C. Calhoun for Vice-President on both tickets. Calhoun had ambitions to lead but withdrew in favor of Jackson. It was all very spotty and irregular, but a scramble towards the light. It killed King Caucus.

The fight for electors became country-wide and for the first time the nation had a presidential campaign, the candidates in which however were all of one political breed, but varying much in their views. Gallatin, who was one of the great financiers of history, was a Swiss and was so fiercely assailed as a foreigner that he was taken off the ticket by Crawford's managers, who sought thus to aid him. The throwing over of Jonah could not save the ship. When the electors were chosen in this helter-skelter fashion, aside from being pretty solid for Calhoun the rest was confusion. Jackson had some for Vice-President, an office with which he was not concerned. Only two states were for Crawford, Virginia and his own Georgia. New York gave him five out of twenty-six, so little had the Van Buren deal availed. Delaware and Maryland sent him two

and one respectively. All told, the expectant heir had but forty-one electors to his credit. The remaining vote split 84 for Adams, 99 for Jackson and 37 for Henry Clay. Jackson was sure of success but guessed wrongly. There was no choice and the election was thrown into the House which was to act on February 9, 1825, making its selection from the three highest, which excluded Clay.

They brought Crawford to the Capitol to exhibit him to Congress. Though but fifty-one he was tottering and prematurely old. "It had now been a long time" wrote Cobb, in making his mournful chronicle, "since he had mingled with the public * * * only a select and intimate few were in the habit of visiting him even at his home. A few days previous to the time of election, however, and to the surprise of nearly all Washington, his friends conveyed him to the Capitol and kept him there in company for several hours. The old man looked better than was generally expected and deported himself with accustomed amenity and dignity. Many who saw him only from a distance were agreeably disappointed. Those with whom he shook hands and spoke, however, were observed to leave him with grave faces and with all the signs and tokens of a melancholy interview. Among the last was Clay himself and it was afterwards remarked by one of Crawford's friends, who was present, that his manner on that occasion told plainly enough that their hopes of his co-operation and support were at an end."

They were, indeed, and the situation was in the hands of Clay. Bear in mind that at this time all the

parties concerned were "Republicans." Clay had before leaving home declared that he would not vote for Jackson. The fatal 9th of February came to hand. A tense crowd filled the galleries, among them many friends of Crawford, daring to hope against hope. Daniel Webster and John Randolph were appointed Tellers. The vote was by ballot. When Webster and Randolph announced the result the crowd was stunned. Crawford received the vote of Delaware, North Carolina, Georgia and Virginia; Jackson that of seven states, although eleven had voted for him, while John Quincy Adams had the support of thirteen, two of which, Maryland and Illinois, had gone for Jackson in the election. Three Clay states, Kentucky, Ohio and Missouri, went to Adams. Henry Clay had made a President and there began the cleavage that was to separate the body politic into Democrats and Whigs.

Three followers of Crawford, Messers Cobb, Macon and Lowrey, girded themselves to break the tidings to their chief. They found him calmly sitting in his easy chair, while one of the family read to him from a newspaper. According to Cobb: "Macon saluted him and made known the result with delicacy though with ill-concealed feeling. The invalid statesman gave a look of profound surprise and remained silent and pensive for many minutes, evidently schooling his mind to a becoming tolerance of the event which had forever thwarted his political elevation. He then entered fully into conversation and commented on circumstances of the election as though he had never been known as a candidate. He even jested and rallied his friend Cobb, whose excess of feeling

had forbidden him to see Crawford until the shock had passed (Macon and Lowrey first going in)—for he knew the enfeebled veteran would be shocked. * * * Crawford himself refrained from giving utterance to the least exceptionable sentiment, and behaved, during the remainder of his stay in Washington, with a mildness and an urbanity befitting one in his exalted station, who had just staked and lost his political fortune."

Adams generously offered to retain Crawford in the Treasuryship but he declined and resigned on March 3, 1825. He was in the prime of life but the paralysis prevented his again assuming large activities. He therefore returned to Georgia. There in 1827, Governor Troup appointed him Judge of the Northern Circuit, to fill a vacancy caused by the death of Judge Dooly. In 1828 the Legislature unanimously elected him to the same office.

His home was at Woodlawn, a pleasant estate three miles from Lexington on the high road to Athens. Here he lived the agreeable life of one held in great esteem. He kept his hand on state affairs and restrained Georgia from joining South Carolina in its nullification movement. He was all for the Union.

Taken ill while on the circuit in Elbert County, he died September 15, 1834, in his sixty-third year, having spent thirty years in public life.

He was among the few men of fame [wrote Thomas H. Benton in recording his demise] that I have seen, that aggrandized on the approach—that having the reputation of a great man became greater as he was more closely examined. There was everything about him to impress the beholder fa-

vorably and grandly—he stood a head and shoulders above the common race of men, justly proportioned, open countenance, manly features, ready and impressive conversation, frank, cordial manners. * * * He seemed to compare favorably with the foremost and that was the judgment of others. For a long time he was deferred to generally by public opinion, as the first of the new men who were to become President. Mr. Monroe, the last of the Revolutionary stock, was passing off; Mr. Crawford was his assured successor. Had the election come one term sooner he would have been the selected man: but his very eminence became fatal to him. He was formidable to all the candidates and all combined against him.

Jabez Hammond in his *Political History of New York* says of Mr. Crawford: "He was possessed of a vigorous intellect, strictly honest and honorable in his political conduct, sternly independent, and of great decision of character."

Though Crawford never reached the White House, his silver service did. On leaving Washington and having small use for it in Georgia, Asbury Dickens, acting for him sold it to the Government and it was sent to adorn the State dinners given by John Quincy Adams.

III

JOHN C. CALHOUN

FATHER OF NULLIFICATION

IN the caucus that named Crawford to such small purpose, John Caldwell Calhoun of South Carolina, had also been a candidate for the first place. Pennsylvania sponsored him but withdrew his name when it was plain that Crawford had the votes. How he was elected Vice-President in 1824 had been narrated. He slipped softly into the chair amid all the turmoil and during the four years of Adams' administration, while the President and Henry Clay were disuniting the Jeffersonians, sat as presiding officer of the Senate. Calhoun kept out of the new alignment and when Adams was again in the field, stood with Andrew Jackson and was named for Vice-President a second time, with the Hero of New Orleans, Adams taking Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania as a running mate. In the election Jackson and Calhoun won, with 178 electoral votes to 83 for Adams. Crawford, who was still of some consequence pulled seven of the nine electors from Georgia away from Calhoun and they were cast for William Smith of that state. Calhoun, who had been largely a law unto himself under Adams, was not destined to be so comfortable with Jackson.

Calhoun's character has been described as one of

the utmost probity and his dangerous thoughts as the Japanese call revolutionary opinion, are apologized for as the products of an unusually honest mind. Some established facts fail to bear this out. The "A. B." conspiracy against Crawford could hardly have gone on without his sanction, and he further misused that honorable gentleman as the sequel will show. But of his exceptional abilities there can be no doubt.

"That young man," said President Theodore Dwight of Yale, to a friend, pointing out Calhoun, "has talents enough to become President of the United States." Graduating from Yale in 1804, where his intellect had won him this encomium, he went to Litchfield, Conn., and there studied law at the school maintained by Tapping Reeve, brother-in-law of Aaron Burr, whence came many able barristers. He had been born in Abbeville District, South Carolina, March 18, 1782, son of Patrick Calhoun, an immigrant from County Donegal, Ireland. Returning home he began the practice of law at Abbeville. He was elected to the South Carolina legislature for a term covering 1807–9, and in 1811 was sent to Congress. Here he joined Henry Clay in the demand for war with Great Britain. Though but thirty he soon made his mark, debating brilliantly with no less antagonist than John Randolph, of Roanoke, who was opposed to the war. To Calhoun the rights of America were "essentially attacked," and war "the only means of redress."

Thus it will be seen the young man was at the moment an ardent Nationalist. June 24, 1812, he departed far from the principle doctrines of Jefferson by opposing strenuously the proposition that America

should sit safely inside its own fence. The "restrictive system," he said truly enough, "does not suit the genius of our people, or that of our government, or the geography or character of our country"—thus completely reversing Jefferson, who believed the nation self-sufficient within itself. "We have had a peace like war," he exclaimed, "In the name of Heaven let us not have the only thing that is worse—a war like peace."

Personally Calhoun, though the father of fire-eating, had no great appetite for flame, though in a dispute with Thomas P. Grosvenor, of New York, while both were in Congress, such heat was developed as to promise a duel. It was prevented by the earnest intercession of friends. In early South Carolina political contention he found himself in opposition to William L. Yancey. Calhoun's cutting tongue had the best of the argument, so much so that Uncle Jacob Marvin, a Yancey partisan, determined to waylay the conqueror and beat him up. He took his post in Calhoun's path as he was walking up and down a hotel piazza and prepared for the clinch. Calhoun who had been warned of his coming, smiled blandly, uttered a kindly salutation and continued his exercise, quite expecting an assault. Instead Marvin stood fascinated, then broke into tears and begged pardon for his ill intent. Thereafter he was devoted to the erstwhile enemy.

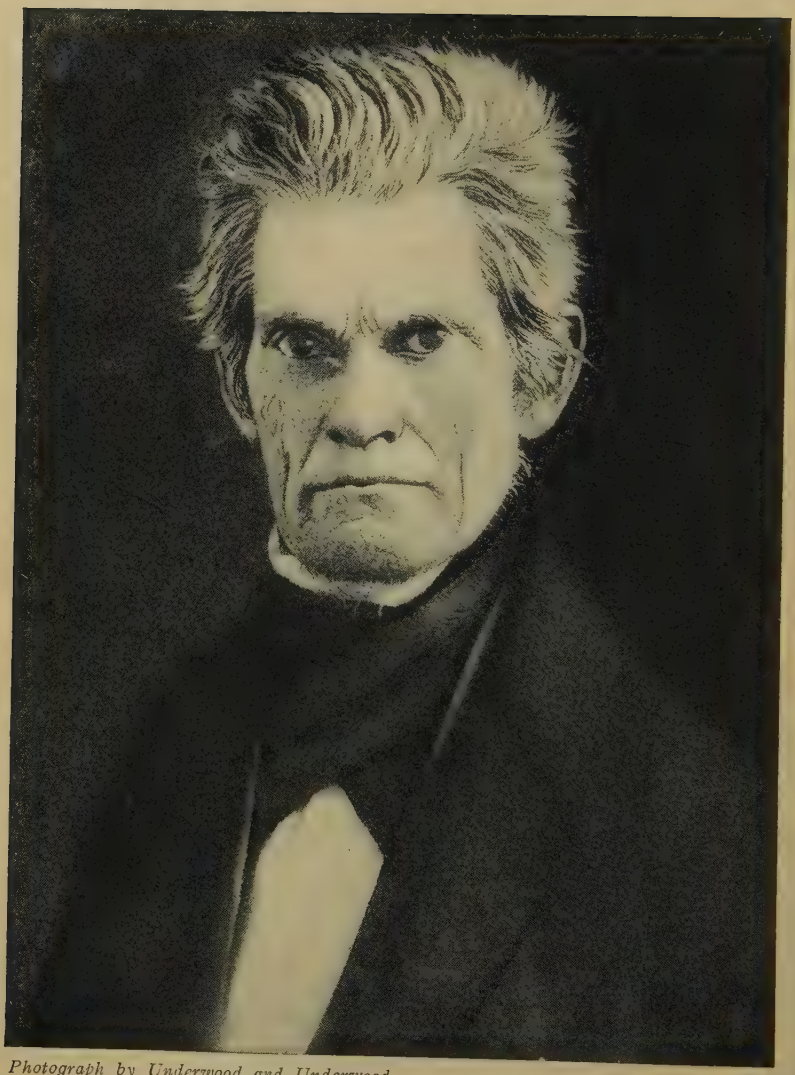
Calhoun played an important part in Congress. Chairman of the Committee on National Currency, he introduced the measure that led to the establishment of the Bank of the United States. He also declared for a protective tariff in support of American industries.

"It is the duty of this country," he averred in January, 1816, "to encourage its domestic industry, more especially that part of it which provides the necessary materials for clothing and defence. England is in possession of the sea. * * * That control deprives us of the means of maintaining our army and navy cheaply clad. A certain encouragement should be extended at least to our woolen and cotton manufacturers." The result was our protective tariff, the consequences of which were to sit ill upon no less person than Calhoun himself. The wise Randolph saw that the South could not develop manufactures under slavery as the event proved. He declared that the new duties would fall on "poor men and slave holders"—as they did.

Calhoun's nationalism showed itself still further in December, 1816, when he introduced a bill providing national aid for roads.

When James Monroe succeeded Madison as President, Henry Clay was offered the place of Secretary of War in the new cabinet. He declined in a pique at not being made Secretary of State. Monroe then named Calhoun for the post. He promptly accepted. John Quincy Adams who was Secretary of State left a judgment of him as "A man of fair and candid mind, of honorable principles, of clear and quick understanding, cool self-possession, of enlarged philosophical views, and of ardent patriotism." This was his opinion in 1821. He had to recant a part of it in due season.

The expansion of the frontier gave the little army plenty to do. Calhoun reached out into the remote northwest, projecting a line of military posts far up the Missouri to the Yellowstone, though getting no



Photograph by Underwood and Underwood

JOHN C. CALHOUN

farther in the end than Omaha, thanks to official blundering that did no credit to the Secretary of War.

The Florida troubles broke out during his stay in office and it became his duty to give orders to no less person than Andrew Jackson, which he did in these terms: "You may be prepared to concentrate your forces, and to adopt the necessary measures to terminate the conflict which it has been the desire of the President, from considerations of humanity to avoid, but which is now made necessary by their settled hostilities."

Jackson construed this as a broad warrant, which indeed it was, and went ahead according to his own notions, which were soon to bring him into conflict with the administration and develop a series of consequences that will unroll in the course of the narrative.

As noted, Calhoun was a Nationalist during this period. Indeed John Quincy Adams said of him in 1819: "He is above all sectional and factious prejudices more than any other statesman of this union with whom I have ever acted."

In another twelve month Calhoun saw the North and the new West forging fast ahead of the slave-bound South. The two sections were strong enough to force the Missouri Compromise of 1820. The effect of this was not correctly visualized by Calhoun. He saw in it only the exercise of sectional strength to limit the expansion of Southern prosperity as due to slavery. It was the reverse. By making the South solidly slave it killed industrial development and checked only the extension of plantations to regions where slave labor could not have been made profitable. It was anything

but that on the whole, in the South, itself, but this none could discern, or if they did, were not free to point out.

Calhoun now took alarm and in confidential talks with John Quincy Adams voiced his belief that the South would have to separate and form a defensive alliance with Great Britain. His nationalism began to disappear.

After William H. Crawford's defeat in 1824, despite Jackson's animus his followers in general had fallen in behind Jackson, while Calhoun also became a strong Jacksonian to all outward appearances, upholding "the power of the people as against that of political leaders." When he presented himself to be sworn in as Vice-President, Jackson happened to be the senior Senator present in the chamber and administered the oath. Once in the chair Calhoun held himself quite apart from Adams and often named committees of the Senate of men opposed to his policies and aims. One of the results of this was the election by the Senate of a chairman pro-tem in the 1825–6 session, to whom the appointing power was transferred.

When Jackson approached his candidacy for 1828, Crawford, having small use for Calhoun, wrote from his Georgia retreat suggesting that he be dropped in favor of DeWitt Clinton, of New York, as Vice-President. This Jackson declined to consider, asserting that Calhoun had been his friend to all appearances for the ten years past and he was disposed to rely upon him as such. Calhoun was therefore given the Democratic nomination and elected. The amity between the two was not destined to long endure. Its end came about

in this fashion: Previous to the General's election, in late December, 1827, William B. Lewis, Jackson's personal political agent chanced to meet Colonel James A. Hamilton, of New York, son of Alexander Hamilton, on a Mississippi steamboat. The two discussed the General's chances. Hamilton asked Lewis how Jackson and Crawford stood. Lewis explained the situation and Hamilton, who was going to Georgia, agreed to see Crawford and get him in line if possible. Lewis heard no more from Hamilton and concluded he had done nothing, until meeting him in New York the Colonel explained that he had missed seeing Crawford but had left the matter with Governor John Forsyth of Georgia to clean up. He had heard from Forsyth that "Crawford knew he had been accused of suggesting Jackson's arrest but it was false. No such proposition was ever made by him; but that Mr. Calhoun did propose his arrest and punishment in some way; showing on various occasions a hostility to his (Jackson's) proceedings in his Seminole campaign."

Lewis got back to Nashville about June 1, 1828, convinced from his observations that Jackson would win by an overwhelming majority. He therefore kept the Crawford matter to himself "from an apprehension that it might produce an explosion."

After election friction began between the President and Vice-President. Calhoun tried, wisely, to prevent the naming of Major John H. Eaton as Secretary of War. It would have been fortunate for Jackson had he succeeded, but he did not.

When Eaton was named the Calhoun forces kept up the warfare which ended in the wreck of the cabinet

and well-nigh ruined the Administration. Jackson continued to look upon Calhoun as one who had been his sincere friend and was more than tolerative. Lewis observed at this juncture, which was before inauguration, that he and many others of Jackson's friends believed that Calhoun was plotting against him. Jackson's strength had been used to break down Adams and Clay. Now he was to be discarded at the close of his first term to make way for Calhoun, who being in his second term as Vice-President could not expect a third. He did not want to face a four year gap and so covertly instituted a movement to deny Jackson a renomination, alleging that he was under pledge to serve but one term. This was easily brushed aside, but the knowledge of it caused more ill-feeling. Jackson's confidence in Calhoun was shaken. He was now to learn that he had been mistaken in his faith. Jackson gave a dinner to ex-President Monroe, in the course of which Finch Ringold, United States Marshal of the District of Columbia, remarked to Lewis that Mr. Monroe was the only friend Jackson had in the former's cabinet. He elaborated his point. The wily Lewis asked the General after dinner if he had heard their conversation. He had not. He was told its purport and expressed the belief that Ringold was mistaken.

"I am not sure of that," said Lewis.

"Why are you not?" asked Jackson.

"Because I have seen a letter written eighteen months ago, in which Mr. Crawford is represented as saying that you charged him with having taken ground against him in Mr. Monroe's cabinet, but in that you had done him an injustice, for it was not he but Mr.

Calhoun, who was in favor of your being arrested or punished in some other way."

Jackson was astounded and sent Lewis to New York to bring him the letter. Hamilton preferred to secure Forsyth's consent. When Congress met on March 4, 1829, after Jackson's inauguration, the two conferred in Washington and decided to write Crawford. This was done and in due season Crawford responded sustaining the charge.

The President at once "called" Calhoun who dissembled. "I should be blind," he wrote Jackson, "not to see that this whole affair is a political manœuvre in which the design is that you should be the instrument and I the victim."

It was indeed a manœuvre of rare importance, and he *was* destined to be the victim. In the end Calhoun lamely admitted that he had made the move in Monroe's cabinet, but blamed Crawford for revealing an official secret. Annoyed at having wasted so much hatred on Crawford and at bestowing so much confidence in Calhoun Jackson gave the latter a good going over in a letter that concluded: "Understanding you now, no further communication with you on this subject is necessary."

The break had come, but it was not open. Officially they were on terms. But the Calhoun purpose to supplant Jackson at the end of four years was not changed. He pulled away Duff Green, editor of the official *Telegraph* which led to the establishment of the *Globe* by Frank P. Blair. Jackson certainly had his hands full, finding himself as Parton puts it, "Early in the first year of his administration engaged in a triple

war, with nullification, the Bank of the United States and the Whig Party."

The first chance Calhoun had to step on Jackson's toes was in opposing apportioning of surplus national revenue among the states. He was silent on Jackson's bank policy but to quote Jackson in a letter to Judge John Overton "is believed to have encouraged the introduction and adoption of the resolutions in the South Carolina legislature relative to the tariff"—a forerunner of nullification.

Jackson's heart was set upon a surplus-distribution plan as "the only thing that can allay the jealousies arising between the different sections of the Union, and prevent that flagitious log-rolling legislation which must in the end destroy everything like harmony, if not the Union itself." This measure became law, without however preventing the evils he foretold.

The varying views of Jackson and Calhoun collided most dramatically at a dinner given in Washington, April 13, 1830, to celebrate the birthday of Thomas Jefferson. The President and Vice-President were invited guests. Both came. It was a subscription affair and twenty-four toasts were on the program, numbers of which savored of nullification, so much so as to cause comment among the company. Jackson sensed the situation acutely. When all the routine toasts were over, he was called upon to offer one of his own. He rose with his glass and uttered a single sentence: "Our Federal Union: it must be preserved."

It had the ring of a clarion-call, and sent a thrill through the assemblage that stirred every bosom in warm response, save that of Calhoun, who countered

thus: "The Union: next to our Liberty most dear: may we all remember that it can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the States, and distributing equally the benefit and burthen of the Union."

In this fashion the doctrine of states rights was proclaimed. Jackson had been forewarned by a perusal of the program and came ready armed with his toast. That he would preserve the Union was beyond doubt. That his discoveries concerning Calhoun's duplicity added strength to his determination can also be believed.

Calhoun now proceeded to force the fighting. He circulated a pamphlet printed in the office of Duff Green's *Telegraph,* which had joined his cause, entitled "Correspondence between General Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun, President and Vice-President of the United States, on the subject of the course of the latter in the deliberations of the cabinet of Mr. Monroe on the occurrence of the Seminole War." It will be perceived that Mr. Calhoun did not regard the Vice-President as a nonentity, a position into which the office drifted thereafter. Jackson wrote "An exposition of Mr. Calhoun's course toward General Jackson" but never published it, and its main points first came to light in Benton's "Thirty Years' View," twenty years after. The break-up in Jackson's cabinet now followed, credited to the social disturbance over "Peggy" Eaton, wife of the Secretary of War whose father kept a Washington saloon; besides which "Peggy" had the reputation of being rather free with some of his customers. Eaton got out, but the real pit-digger was Calhoun. He turned such a fire on Martin

Van Buren, that he retired. Three, Samuel D. Ingham, Secretary of the Treasury, John Branch, Secretary of the Navy, and John M. Berrien, Attorney General, strong Calhoun supporters, resigned at the President's request, though with testimonials of official esteem. Crawford took a hand in the controversy by saying he had not divulged the cabinet "secret" as the story concerning its discussion of Jackson, had, as already stated, been revealed in a letter to a Nashville newspaper—an incident suspicious in itself, as being Jackson's home town—but with the facts reversed. He now expressed his belief that this had been the deliberate work of Calhoun designed to destroy his vogue with Jackson, which it did.

Calhoun himself, while Vice-President in the summer of 1831, came out in a public defense of nullification. James Watson Webb giving him the use of five long columns in his *New York Courier and Enquirer* for the purpose. He held that nullification was the "natural, peaceful and proper remedy" for "an intolerable grievance inflicted by Congress upon a state or a section," and cited the tariff of 1828 as such. It was "unconstitutional, unequal in its operation, oppressive to the South," and "evil, inveterate and dangerous." Money was piling up in the Treasury at the expense of the South; "the honest and obvious way" to deal with such a situation was "by a timely and judicious reduction of the imposts." He directly opposed Jackson's proposition to soothe the states by dividing the surplus among them. This was "most dangerous and unconstitutional" and certain to create "an antagonist interest between the states and general gov-

ernment, on all questions of appropriations, which would certainly end in reducing the latter to a mere office of collection and distribution" while "either of these modes would be considered by the section suffering under the present high duties, as a fixed determination to perpetuate forever what it considers the present unequal, unconstitutional, and oppressive burden; and from that moment, it would cease to look to the general government for relief."

This was a plain enough threat of secession and Jackson so regarded it. Calhoun overlooked South Carolina's advantage in slave labor. New England wages were slightly higher than those in Great Britain, but were more than offset in this respect by the unpaid servitors of the South.

Calhoun became a candidate for President without a party. He was nominated for the office at a public meeting in New York, August 9, 1831, but the movement got no further. "I cannot support Clay," he wrote his South Carolina friend, J. H. Hammond, "who, in my opinion, has done great mischief to the country (by the tariff) and I have no confidence in Jackson who is too ignorant, too suspicious and too weak to conduct our affairs successfully." Hardly a sound estimate of "Old Hickory" who was soon to completely confute it. He was also guilty of a bad piece of politics in breaking a tie and so rejecting the nomination of Martin Van Buren as minister to England, whither he had already gone and where he was a social success. Calhoun thought this would be the end of the fox of Kinderhook. "It will kill him, sir, kill him dead," was his excited remark, "he will never kick,

sir, never kick!" Thomas H. Benton knew better, "You have broken a minister," he told Calhoun "and elected a vice-president." He had indeed.

The tariff of 1828, amended unsatisfactorily in 1831, had made its effects disagreeably felt in the South. Georgia had joined its sister state in protesting but had gone no further. Calhoun in the Vice-President's chair was always at work; adding to the tenseness of the situation. South Carolina's voice on the floor was Robert J. Hayne, who made a great speech to have it answered by a greater one from Daniel Webster. The tariff and nullification became an issue in the campaign of 1832, in which Jackson stood for re-election against Henry Clay and to the amazement of the nullifiers was re-elected by an enormous majority. Seeing no hope in the outlook, the South Carolina legislature met the 22nd of October in extra session and called a convention to consider action by the state. This convened at Charleston on November 19th, and by a vote of 136 to 26 adopted an Ordinance of Nullification, together with an address to the People of the United States, justifying its course. A week later, November 27th, the legislature passed an act to make the nullification effective. Governor James Hamilton made it law. So confident were the nullifiers of secession that they struck a medal bearing Calhoun's portrait and inscribed: "John C. Calhoun, first President of the Southern Confederacy."

Jackson met the movement with a stern proclamation, sending besides two warships and General Winfield Scott to Charleston to deal with the sedition. Robert J. Hayne became Governor on December

13th, resigning from the Senate. Calhoun at the same time resigned as Vice-President and was elected to fill Hayne's seat. Hayne, as Governor proclaimed and fulminated, warning invaders off the sacred South Carolina soil and calling on its citizens to prepare for bloodshed. Jackson in response sent a message to Congress asking for the passage of a force-bill that would give him power to deal with the unruly state. Calhoun had just reached his seat when it was read. He made a cool, subtle reply, saying that no man was more loyal to the Union than he was to it as it stood, and would be the last to question its authority. In furtherance of his position he introduced a group of "Resolutions on the powers of government," all sustaining the doctrine of nullification. There were counter resolves by Senator Grundy of Tennessee, upholding Jackson, and a deal of debate.

Nullification was to have gone into effect on February 1, 1833. Nothing happened, though Jackson was strongly inclined to proceed against Calhoun for treason and have him hanged. That clever nullifier succeeded in securing a compromise on the tariff after a contest with Clay who mocked at the blustering Carolinians as men waving wooden swords, quoting John M. Clayton of Delaware:— "These South Carolinians act very badly, but they are good fellows, and it is a pity to let Jackson hang them." Accordingly Clay braved the wrath of the northern manufacturers and on March 2, 1833, a measure was passed that gradually reduced the protective parts of the tariff. On the same day Jackson got his force bill but never found occasion to use it. Its life was limited to that of the

next Congress. Scott and the two warships came home.

Calhoun sat in the senate, not as the representative of a party but of his state, for something like seven years, supporting Clay and Webster as a rule against Jackson and his successor Martin Van Buren. He joined with Clay in passing the resolution of censure on Jackson as responsible for the panic of 1837, which was to be expunged before Jackson's death, for which Calhoun also voted.

In 1835 he again threatened independent action on the part of the Southern states. He had introduced a bill forbidding the delivery of anti-slavery literature through the mails and in supporting it said: "I must tell the Senate, be your decision what it may, the South will never abandon the principles of this bill. If you refuse co-operation with our laws, and conflict should ensue between your and our law, the Southern states' voice will never yield to the superiority of yours. We have a remedy in our hands, which, in such events, we shall not fail to apply. We have high authority for asserting this, in such cases. 'State interposition is the rightful remedy'—a doctrine first announced by Jefferson, adopted by the patriotic and republican state of Kentucky by solemn resolution in 1798, and finally carried out in successful practice on a recent occasion, ever to be remembered by the gallant state, which I, in part have the honor to represent."

In pressing the measure to a third reading he neatly arranged a tie to smoke out Martin Van Buren, the Vice-President and heir to the Presidency, thinking that however he voted it would unite either North or South against him. The sly fox of Kinderhook voted to

advance the measure to third reading and suffered no ill consequences. The bill got no further. In September 1837 Calhoun suddenly shifted to the support of Van Buren, deeply disgusting Henry Clay.

"The gentleman," said Clay in the Senate "has gone over to the enemy, and time alone can disclose the motive."

"The gentleman" retorted Calhoun, "went over to the enemy and did not leave it for time to disclose the motive."

On February 15th following Calhoun made a speech favoring Van Buren's plan for a United States Treasury, independent of banks and special currency. Mr. Clay gave himself four days off to consider his reply. When it came it did not answer Calhoun's arguments but took him severely to task for changing sides. Calhoun waited twenty days before answering and then polished Clay off prettily. The speech according to Benton was "profoundly meditated and elaborately composed; the matter solid and condensed, the style chaste, terse, and vigorous. * * * It was a masterly oration." Clay rejoined immediately in a speech bitter with sarcasm and invective. The exchange went on until Calhoun conceded the last word to Clay, who closed politely. Calhoun felt he had vindicated his public course, as that of a man who had chosen the best from what was before him. Clay predicted that South Carolina would not follow Calhoun, but she did, giving her vote to Van Buren in 1836.

The Abolitionists now began bombarding Senate and House with petitions asking for the exclusion of slavery from the District of Columbia. There was

much debating whether or not to receive them. Calhoun favored their non-receipt. Clay saw in this a clash with the right of petition guaranteed by the Constitution and his view was accepted by the Senate. This disposed of the petitions, but not of the problem. Calhoun then sought to get the Senate on record in a way that would cover questions of Federal power over slavery and to that end presented six resolutions all of which protected the institution. Four dealing with the states were passed without debate, the fifth looking to the annexation of Texas was tabled. The sixth advised citizens not to meddle with conditions in the District of Columbia, as "immoral and sinful," and to mind their own business as this would be "a direct and dangerous attack on the institutions of all the slaveholding states." Clay agreed as to the doctrine but not the reason as between the District of Columbia and the territories which were thus linked together. There was a wide difference in a legislative sense. Calhoun now came out squarely against the Missouri compromise of 1820, which he had hitherto accepted and declared it had abolished slavery where it had legally existed for a century.

Clay cut out the "meddling" in the resolution and inserted "interference." It was passed with but eight votes against, one of which was cast by Daniel Webster. In the discussion Calhoun made plain his belief that the abolition agitation if permitted to gain headway would result in secession. Webster and Buchanan, though of different parties thought Calhoun was going at it the wrong way. Webster wanted to curb "interference" by citizens with regard to all institutions,

while James Buchanan pointed out that "we" of the North, friendly to the South, had been placed between two fires. Calhoun, in defense justly observed that the Union could not be saved by eulogies upon it, and laid down the dogma, which became doctrine, that Congress had no power to legislate upon slave-holding in a territory, so as to prevent citizens of slave-holding states from removing thereto with their chattels; that it had no authority to delegate such power to a territory, as the territory had no such power (inherent) in itself. Herein lay the germ of all the troubles that were to follow and end in civil war. Towards this he led steadily in his Senate course, keeping his state behind him.

He was contemptuous of Clay and after forcing the compromise on the tariff in 1833 had remarked: "I had him down. I had him on his back—I was his master."

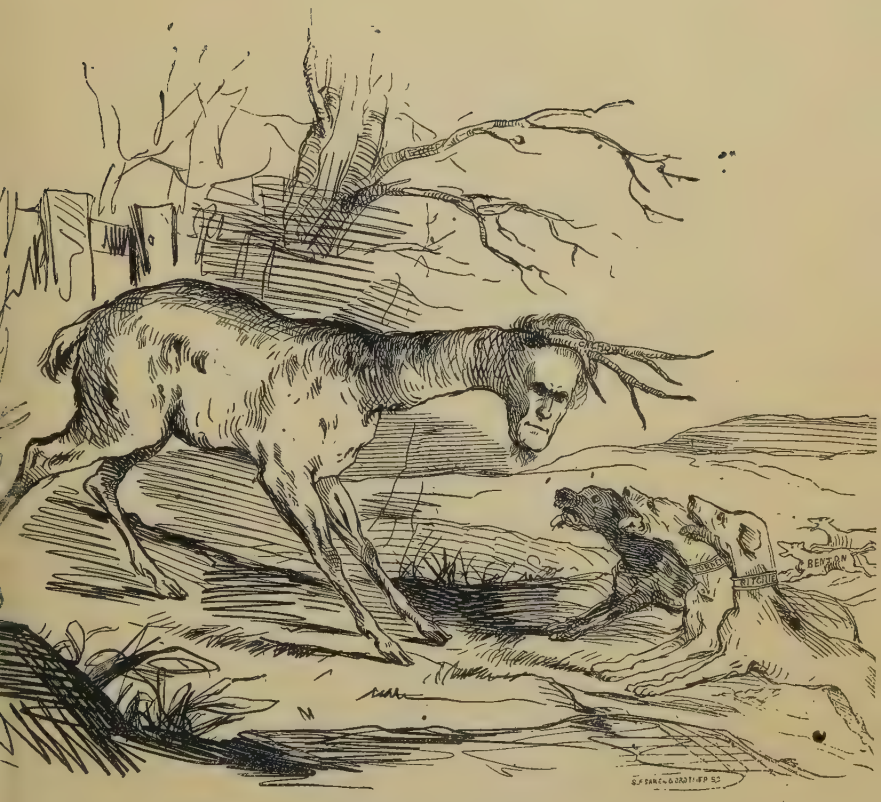
"He my master," was Clay's retort. "I would not own him for the meanest of my slaves."

Calhoun had some right to exult. He had evaded the wrath of Jackson and forced Clay to lower the tariff which was his pet. Out of this Calhoun felt that he might become President in 1844, by the support of the grateful South and Pennsylvania, where he was strong. Nothing of the sort came to pass. February 26, 1844, John H. Upshur, Secretary of State, was killed by the explosion of a cannon on the man of war *Princeton,* and President Tyler, who was a hybrid, like Calhoun, gave him the vacant portfolio March 6th, for the balance of his term, during which he had to deal with the leavings of the Oregon controversy

and negotiated the Treaty for the annexation of Texas. This was rejected by the Senate and became an issue in the election of 1844. The Whigs had beaten the treaty, and Clay's platform opposed absorption of the Republic. Tyler in his message to Congress renewed his recommendation that Texas be taken in. The House favored it in a joint resolution, which was rejected by the Senate. Eager as the President was to add the acquisition of Texas to his laurels, the palm went to his successor. Dickering dragged along until 1846, when Texas was organized as a state on February 19th. The Mexican War was the almost immediate outcome.

Calhoun had returned to the Senate and opposed the precipitate action proposed by President Polk when Mexico made armed resistance to invasion on the part of Zachary Taylor's forces. He refused to recognize this as war "according to the sense of the Constitution," and acted with Webster in striving for delay in the hope of settlement. So he cannot be accused at that moment of selecting an excuse for the extension of slavery. He feared foreign intervention and the seizure of Oregon by Great Britain, out of the pending boundary dispute. Congress disagreed with him by a big majority and the war went on to its victorious conclusion.

The huge addition of territory acquired by conquest brought the extension of slavery immediately to the fore, Calhoun at once announcing that he should insist upon the rights of the southern planters to extend their "institution" into the new lands. According to Benton he "openly treated as enemies of the South, all who opposed it." He organized members of Con-



THE SOUTH CAROLINA STAG AT BAY.

CALHOUN AND HIS ENEMIES

Calhoun, with his characteristic goatee, is seen standing off his enemies in the Senate, Ritchie, Benton and others. From *Yankee Doodle,* March 6, 1847

gress from the South into secret conferences to force his purpose of "defence and protection" for their section, and wrote a manifesto to the tune of the Declaration of Independence in support of his attitude. Previously, in discussing the Oregon bill, he had asserted his position: "I deny," he declared "that the laws of Mexico (forbidding slavery) can have the effect of attributing to them that of keeping slavery out of New Mexico and California. As soon as the treaties between the two countries are ratified the sovereignty and authority of Mexico in the territory acquired by it becomes extinct and that of the United States is substituted in its place, carrying with it the constitution, with its over-ruling control over all the laws and institutions of Mexico inconsistent with it."

The manifesto was passed at a meeting of Calhoun's congressmen and senators, thinly attended, but had its menacing effect in producing a crisis that was met by the compromise of 1850. Calhoun had become too enfeebled to attend the Senate. His last speech was read from the floor by Senator J. M. Mason of Virginia, on March 4, 1850. It was provoked by the application of California for admission as a state on a Constitution that excluded slavery. In it he asserted the coming of secession, pointing out that Southern Methodists and Baptists had separated from the Northern bodies of their church on slavery grounds. The next separation, he prophesied, would be political, unless Southern rights were protected. He proposed a singular solution, which was: "To provide for the insertion of a provision in the Constitution, by an amendment, which would restore to the South in sub-

stance, the power she possesses of protecting herself, before the equilibrium between the sections were destroyed by the action of this government."

The provisions of the amendment were not stated, but he planned that it should provide for the election of two Presidents, one from the North, the other from the South, without whose joint signature no act of Congress should become law.

This was his final effort for his cause. He died March 31, 1850, breathing fire.

"Calhoun" wrote Theodore Parker after the former's death, (though a fellow Unitarian and a founder of the church in Washington), "was slavery: the greatest sophist the nation ever knew was properly devoted to the worst institution now in the growing world." "His eloquence was part of his intellectual character" said Daniel Webster in eulogy: "It was plain, strong, terse, condensed, concise, sometimes impassioned, still always severe. Rejecting ornament, not often seeking for illustration, his power consisted in the plainness of his propositions, in the closeness of his logic and in the energy and earnestness of his manner. I have known no man who wasted less of life in what is called recreation, or employed less of it in any pursuits not immediately connected with the discharge of his duty. He seemed to have no recreation but the pleasure of conversation with his friends."

His only real relaxation was carrying on his plantation at Fort Hill, Georgia. This he enjoyed greatly. Here also he made life agreeable for his family and kept open house to friends. Mrs. Jefferson Davis, who

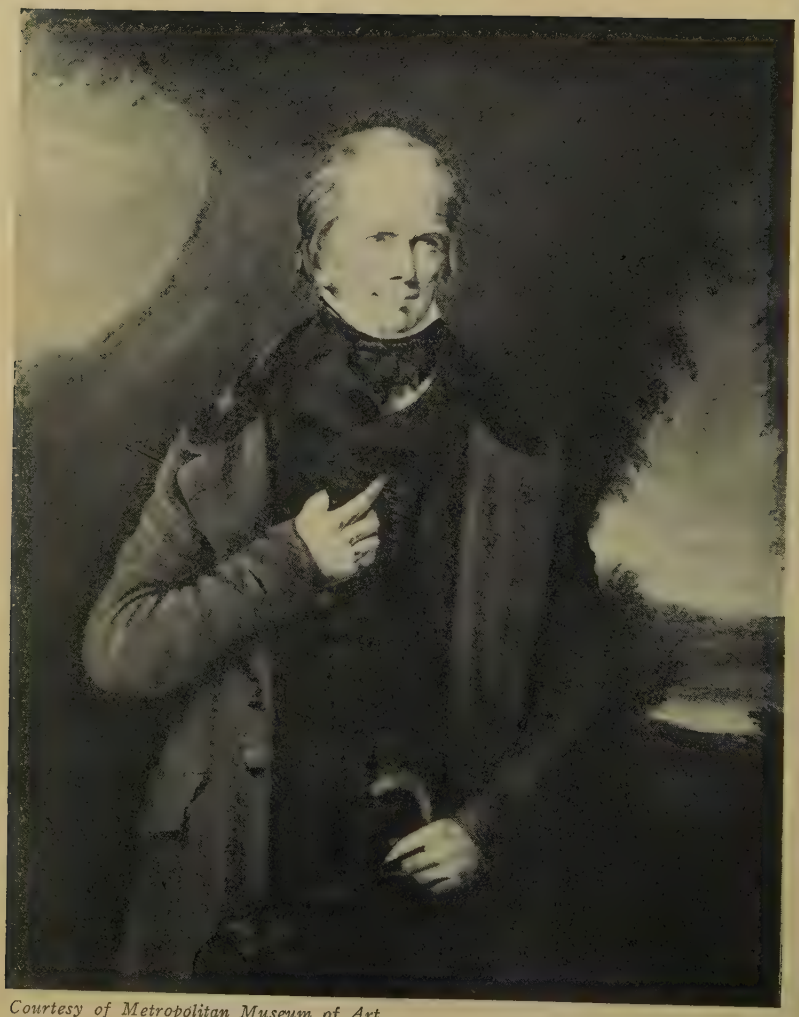
saw Calhoun during a visit to Mississippi in 1845 thus describes him: "His head was rather long than broad, the ears were placed low upon it, the depth from front to back was very great; his forehead was low, steep and jutted squarely over the most glorious pair of yellow-brown eyes, that seemed to have a light inherent in themselves. They looked steadily out from under bushy eyebrows that made the deep sockets look still more sunken. When excited, the pupils filled the iris and made his eyes seem black. He lowered them less than any one I have ever seen; they were steadily bent on the object with which he was engaged; indeed on some people they had almost mesmeric power.

"He wore his thick hair all the same length, and rather long, combed straight back from his forehead. This with his brilliant eyes and unflinching gaze, gave his head the expression of an eagle's. His mouth was wide and straight. He rarely smiled, and the firmly square chin and grave manner made a personality striking in the extreme. He was tall and slenderly built, quick and alert in both speech and movement, but mind and body were so equally and rarely adjusted to each other that no dignity could be more supreme than Mr. Calhoun's.

"His voice was not musical; it was the voice of a professor of mathematics, and suited his didactic discourse admirably. He made few gestures, but those nervous, gentlemanly hands seemed to point the way to empire."

He spoke so rapidly that it was difficult to follow him without the closest attention.

Andrew Jackson on his death-bed deeply regretted that he had not hanged Calhoun. "My country," he said with almost his last breath, "would have sustained me in the act, and his fate would have been a warning to traitors in all time to come."



Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art

HENRY CLAY

From the painting by Samuel Morse

IV

HENRY CLAY

"HARRY OF THE WEST"

IF Henry Clay made a president when he swung his strength in Congress to John Quincy Adams, he also made an unrelenting enemy of Andrew Jackson, whose hostility was to cost him dear. They had first met at Washington in 1815, when Jackson was in the full flower of his fame, through winning the battle of New Orleans a month after Clay and his fellows commissioners had concluded the Treaty of Peace with England at Ghent. Clay was Speaker of the House of Representatives and their intercourse as he described it was "friendly and cordial." But Clay joined in the criticism of Jackson's Florida performances, not dreaming that public utterances on public policy could be considered an affront. Jackson, however, so viewed it. He aspersed Clay in private; and was repaid, when, with the Presidential prize almost in his grasp, he lost it at the Kentuckian's hands.

They met and dined together when Jackson came to the Senate in 1823, but established no relations. Up to this time they had both been of the party of Thomas Jefferson. A cleavage now began in which all the advantages were to become those of Jackson. The warm and generous heart of Clay could embrace anyone

who called him friend but had in it little room for the General. They were miles apart in thought and feeling. Jackson's love of country was a personal passion. Clay's devotion was that of a statesman, seeking to share its benefits with all. He was a born leader of men. Horace Greeley, whose capacity for affection was small declared that he "loved" Henry Clay. Indeed men swore by him as they did no other American politician. Kentucky adored him. It was a treat to hear him on the stump. He was everywhere acclaimed and knew how to handle hecklers. On one occasion he ran into a shooting match and was asked to try his marksmanship. The test was critical, for the voters were apt to be governed by the result. He had only a casual acquaintance with the rifle but banged away, and had the luck to make a bull's-eye. There was loud acclaim of "accident." "When you beat it," he said, "I'll do it again." No one "beat it" and his supremacy stood. His popularity, as William Wirt put it was the sort that followed—was not run after.

If ever a man deserved the Presidency both from his talents and personal popularity it was Clay. Yet he was destined not to arrive, the relentless Jackson standing ever in the way. "Mr. Clay" the General wrote to Samuel Swartwout, of New York, "has never yet risked himself for his country. He has not sacrificed his repose nor made an effort to repel an invading foe. Of course 'his conscience' assured him it was altogether wrong in any man to lead his countrymen to battle and victory." When Adams appointed Clay Secretary of State and the confirmation came up in the Senate, Jackson voted "no."

Though a Virginian, Clay was humbly born, the seventh child of the Rev. John Clay, who held a ministry in "The Slashes," a swampy section of Hanover County. He came into the world April 12, 1777, when the revolution was raging and was soon an orphan, his father dying when he was four years old. The mother married again, taking Henry Watkins for a husband. He was kind to the lad, who, as he grew up acquired the sobriquet of "The Mill Boy of the Slashes" because of his carrying grain on horseback to be ground into flour. Peter Deacon taught him the rudiments in a log school house. He worked in a country store, then secured a job as copyist in the office of the Virginia Court of Chancery. This brought him into contact with George Wythe, at Williamsburg, who had taught law to Thomas Jefferson and John Marshall. He performed the same service for Clay. For a time he acted as Wythe's amanuensis. The lawyer was the best Greek scholar in Virginia and much given to sprinkling his writings with Attic salt in the original. Clay knew no Greek and found great difficulty in copying.

Admitted to the bar in 1797, he removed to Lexington, Kentucky, which was thereafter to be his home, and met with instant success. The pioneers were litigious and he had plenty to do. In 1803 Lexington sent him to the State Legislature. John Adair resigning the United States senatorship in 1806 he was appointed to fill the vacancy. He served again in 1809 by appointment. Then in 1811 he was elected a member of Congress and speedily became a National figure, being selected as speaker, a post he was destined to fill with

distinction for fourteen years, with gaps between, the first of which occurred when he was sent as one of the Commissioners to Ghent in 1814 and brought to an end the war of 1812, of which he had been an earnest advocate in Congress, where he resumed his seat and the speakership on his return from that mission. Though he owned slaves Clay was opposed to the institution. He would willingly have abolished it had he known how. The puzzle was what to do with them if free. It was felt that they could not be turned loose to become a permanent inferior class in the community. The idea of sending them back to Africa seemed the best solution. In 1816 the American Colonization Society was formed and established the Republic of Liberia. Clay served as the second president of this organization, whose main purpose was to remove free negroes to Africa, where but few cared to go.

It was upon his motion that a joint committee was appointed by the House to confer with one from the Senate on the question of admitting Missouri to the Union as a slave state. To this was due the compromise of 1820, which shut out the institution from the rest of the recently acquired Louisiana purchase, and stopped a threatened secession. Clay was not the author of the proposition which originated in the Senate but gained the credit for its adoption. Also, the blame.

After the passage of the measure Mr. Clay retired from Congress for a term to replenish his purse at the bar. He was back again in 1823, and once more speaker. His share in the election of Adams, and his own candidacy for the Presidency have been detailed. Adams and Clay upon assuming office began the de-

velopment of what was to become the Whig party out of the old time Federalists and those who opposed Jackson, thus departing forever from the principles of Jefferson, becoming protectionists, friends of the United States bank and all the things that were anathema to "Old Hickory."

In 1826 the South American republics, still unrecognized by Spain, and taking the Monroe doctrine at its face, invited the United States to send ministers to a congress of Latin-American states to arrange a relationship for their own protection. This congress was to meet at Panama, then a location, not a state, as a matter of convenience. The Monroe doctrine had been proclaimed not long before while Adams was Secretary of State. He now found himself face to face with it and proceeded to interpret it in his own way. He sent in the names of two men as "ministers"—John Sergeant of Pennsylvania, and Richard Clark Anderson of Kentucky. His message and methods aroused the Senate, while the country itself shared in its excitement, being inclined to reach out a brotherly hand, which the Senate was not. Many of the South American Republicans were a shade too dark to associate with in that day. Some publications on behalf of the administration program fathered by the Secretary of State roused the wrath of John Randolph of Roanoke who scored Adams and Clay in the Senate, as a compound of "Blifill and Black George—The Puritan and the Blackleg." He further intimated that Clay had manufactured the invitations from the republics.

The result was a challenge from Clay, which Randolph accepted. Senator Thomas H. Benton, a relative

of Mrs. Clay, attempted to settle the dispute, but failed. Randolph, determined, however, not to aim at his opponent. On the way to the ground he changed his mind, owing to some reflection that reached his ear. General Jesup acted as Clay's second, while Colonel Tatnall acted for Randolph. They met on the afternoon of Saturday, April 8, 1826, on the Virginia shore of the Potomac, at the instance of Randolph, who wanted to fall on its sacred soil in defence of its "rights" whatever these might have been, while its earth would absorb his blood. Before Clay received his pistol from his second Randolph accidentally discharged his own weapon. He was given another. Both fired at the word. Both missed, but by a narrow margin as the course of the bullets showed.

Benton, who was present as a mutual friend tried anew to effect a reconciliation which Clay rejected as "child's play." They again took their stations. Clay fired at the word. Randolph withheld his fire and finding himself unhurt emptied his pistol in the air, remarking: "I do not fire at you, Mr. Clay." With this he offered his hand, which Clay accepted, Randolph remarking, "Mr. Clay, you owe me a coat." There was a bullet hole through its skirt. "I am glad the debt is no greater," replied Clay. On Monday the parties exchanged cards and resumed friendly relations. "It was about the last high-toned duel I have witnessed" records Benton, "and among the highest toned that I have ever witnessed, and so happily conducted to a fortunate issue—a result due to the noble character of the seconds as well as to the generous and heroic spirit of the principals."

Eventually the "ministers" were confirmed and Congress authorized their mission, but it was never fulfilled. The South American Congress did not function far, and the "Monroe doctrine" still remains uninterpreted.

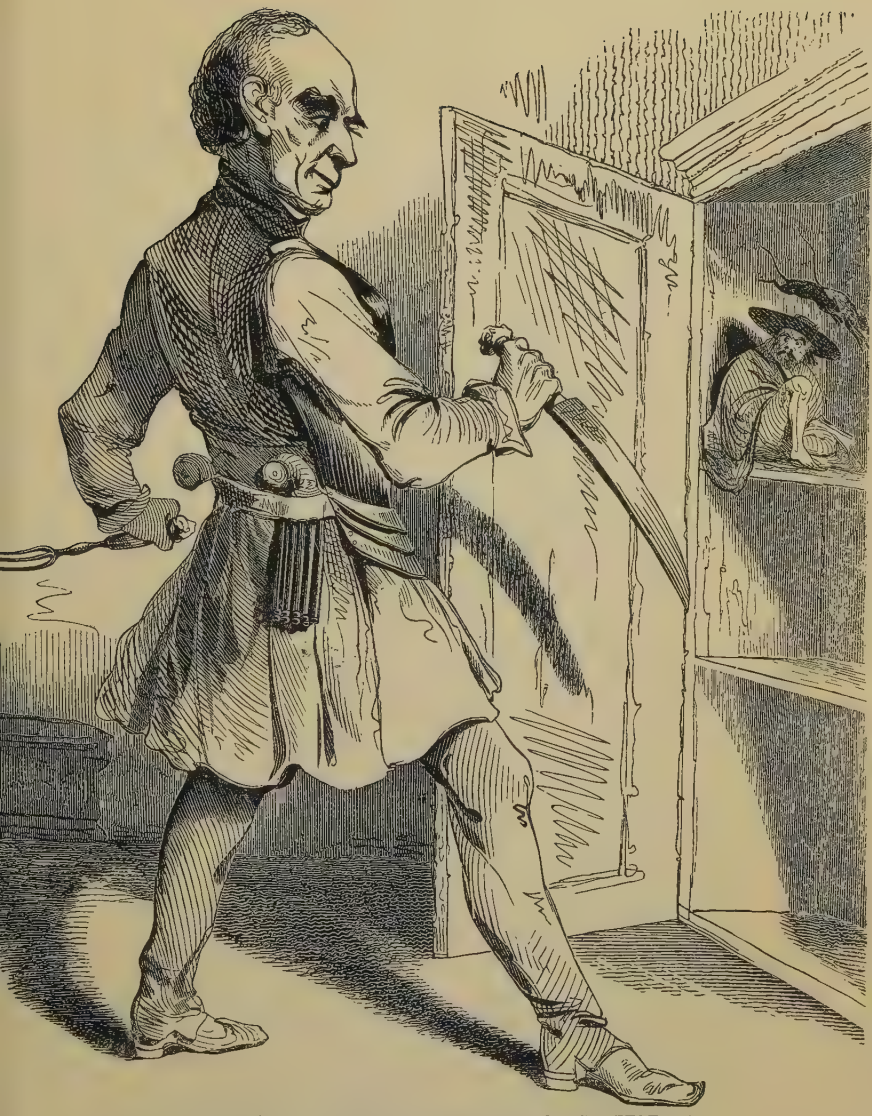
The triumph of Jackson over Adams in 1828 caused Clay's retirement from public life for several years, during which he was busy with the law at Lexington. In 1831 he took his seat in the Senate. So tumultuous had been Jackson's first administration that it was readily agreed that he could not succeed himself. Calhoun, as noted was of that opinion, and contrived at bringing it about, but defeated his own purpose by his stand on nullification. The Anti-Jacksonians had not yet taken on the guise of Whigs, but called themselves "National Republicans." They met in convention at Baltimore on December 12, 1831, one hundred and sixty-seven delegates attending. It was hardly national in content. South Carolina, which thought itself out of the Union, Georgia, which sympathized with it, Alabama, Mississippi, Illinois and Missouri sent no representatives. Clay was nominated by acclamation, each delegation announcing its vote through a chairman. All were for Clay. John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania, was the candidate for Vice-President. The platform summed up the sins of Jackson, which were numerous, but popular, involving as they did the tariff, the United States Bank, internal improvements and the expulsion of the Georgia Cherokees.

Further support for Clay came from a "Young Men's" Convention held at Washington in May, 1832. This gathering endorsed Clay, internal improvements,

and the tariff. It also denounced Jackson's over-ruling the United States Supreme Court in the case of the Cherokees, whose rights that body had upheld, but which Jackson refused to enforce. He had fought the Indians and bore them no good-will, civilized and worthy as they were. It also disapproved of the newly inaugurated "Spoils System."

The Anti-Masonic madness was raging. Its followers were opposed to Jackson. They had met in convention at Baltimore September 16, 1831, and put up William Wirt, the celebrated jurist of Maryland, for President and James Ellmaker, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President. Thus the anti-Jackson forces were divided. The campaign that followed was one of tremendous vehemence but all signs went Jackson's way in the preliminary elections. A Jackson man even captured the governorship of Kentucky, though the Lieutenant Governor was of Clay's company. It was loudly claimed that "repeaters" who flocked over from Tennessee were responsible for the result. That they had a hand in it is more than likely. There were not many scruples in Jackson's politics. But the stars were set against "Harry of the West."

Clay was badly beaten. The electoral college stood 219 for Jackson, 49 for Clay and 7 for Wirt. Virginia and South Carolina split, giving eleven votes to John Floyd. The popular vote was 687,500 for Jackson; the combined opposition behind Clay and Wirt polled 530,189. The Clay states were Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Kentucky and in part Maryland, where some Clay electors got in by four majority. Tennessee went almost unanimously for Jackson, there



MR. CLAY TAKING A NEW VIEW OF THE TEXAS QUESTION.

Now for one I certainly am not willing to involve this country in a foreign war for the object of acquiring Texas. Honor and good faith, and justice, are equally due from this country toward the weak as toward the strong.—*Mr. Clay's Raleigh Letter.*

FA, FE, FI, FO FUM!
I SMELL THE BLOOD OF A MEXICUN!
DEAD OR ALIVE I WILL HAVE SOME!

I feel as if I yet must go and slay a Mexican!
Mr. Clay's Speech at New Orleans.

CLAY AND THE TEXAS QUESTION

Clay's equivocal stand with regard to Texas was one of the determining factors in the race which he lost to Polk, who was more outright in his utterances.
From *Yankee Doodle,* February 6, 1847

being but 1436 Clay ballots cast. Georgia and Alabama gave him no votes at all.

Defeat did not disturb Clay's prestige. He loomed up larger than ever in the Senate and became the foremost of the Whigs. For supporters he had the mighty Webster and for much of the time Calhoun. Van Buren became President by the will of Jackson, and continued his policies. Calhoun deserted Clay and his following was difficult to handle. The slavery question raised its head ominously. He could not save the United States Bank. When it became time to replace Van Buren the opportunity should again have been Clay's. His party was out of hand and the nomination went to William Henry Harrison, with John Tyler of Virginia for Vice-President. The resulting "Log-Cabin" and "Hard Cider" campaign was something remarkable. Van Buren ran again, but with a divided party and no candidate for Vice-President he was defeated.

According to Benton, Clay had determined to retire in November, 1840, when Harrison won, after he himself had been set aside for the nomination. As Benton gives his state of mind: "The determination was formed from the moment that he found himself superseded at the head of his party by a process of intricate and trackless filtration of public opinion, which left him a dreg where he had been for many years the head. It was a mistake, the effect of calculation, which ended more disastrously for the party than himself. Mr. Clay should have been elected at that time. The same power which elected Harrison would have elected him. The banks enabled the party to do it. In a state of suspen-

sion they could furnish without detriment to themselves the funds for the campaign. Affecting to be ruined by the government they could create distress: and thus act upon the community with the double battery of terror and seduction. Lending all their energies and resources to a political party, they elected Harrison with a hurrah and could have done the same by Clay."

Benton thought Clay missed a psychological moment in not getting out. Probably Webster, who became Harrison's Secretary of State persuaded him to stay. The Whigs in control of the Senate were at last, they thought, a real party and in a position to do something. It proved quite otherwise. Harrison died after a month in office and Tyler took his place. Tyler had been a follower of Jackson and his message on taking office was so much more Jacksonian than Whig that Clay presented to the Senate a program of his own, embracing among other things these items:

1—The repeal of the Sub-Treasury act.
2—The incorporation of a bank adapted to the wants of the people and the government.
3—The provision of an adequate revenue for the government by the imposition of duties, and including an authority to contract a temporary loan to cover the public debt created by the last administration.
4—The prospective distribution of the proceeds from public land sales.

This last, as Senator Benton observed, was an

absurd corollary to the item preceding it. Clay did not get on well with Tyler, nor did most of the Whigs.

Clay's leadership in the Senate became ineffective, even though the Democrats were in the minority. An effort, often made since to limit debate, which he fathered, was defeated to his deep disgust, by votes on his own side, in defense of the liberty of speech; that being the freedom to talk a bill to death which still prevails. His insistence annoyed one of his fellows who said: "He gives your party a great deal of trouble, and his own a great deal more." Defending the tariff also became burdensome. Local interests were always bobbing up in one way or another and kept him in trouble.

Vexed at his own futility he resigned his seat in March, 1842, and went back to Lexington. His farewell speech was classic in diction and damp with emotion. This is a sample sob:

I emigrated from Virginia to the State of Kentucky now nearly forty-five years ago: I went as an orphan boy who had not yet attained the age of majority; who had never recognized a father's smile, nor felt his warm caresses; poor, pennyless, without the favor of the great, with an imperfect and neglected education, hardly sufficient for the ordinary business and common pursuits of life; but scarce had I set foot upon her generous soil when I was embraced with paternal fondness, expressed as though I had been a favorite child, and patronized with liberal and unbounded munificence. From that period the highest honors of the state had been bestowed upon me; and, when in the darkest hours of calumny and distraction, I seemed to be assailed by all the rest of the world, she interposed her broad and impenetrable shield, repelled the poisoned

shafts that were aimed for my destruction and vindicated my good name from every malignant and unfounded aspersion. I return with indescribable pleasure to linger a while longer and mingle with the warm-hearted and whole-souled people of that state; and, when the last scene shall forever close upon me, I hope that my earthly remains will be laid under her green sod with those of her gallant and patriotic sons.

Mainly bathos, say you? Yes, but the Senate wept at hearing it and gave him the wettest kind of a farewell. At Lexington he had established a fine estate called Ashland, where he led an enjoyable life out of range of the slings and arrows, betting pretty heavily on cards and horses and consuming a good deal of old Bourbon. He was no less a popular idol than when sitting helplessly in the Senate.

When it came time for the Whigs to nominate in 1844, Clay was unanimously called upon to head the ticket against James K. Polk. Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, was named for Vice-President; this at a convention held in Baltimore May 1, 1844. The annexation of Texas was a burning question. Clay opposed it as "dangerous to the tranquillity of the country, unjust to Mexico, and dishonorable in the eyes of the world." Martin Van Buren, who was a candidate for the Democratic nomination held the same view. He lost out to Polk, largely because of it. Polk was an obscurity compared to Clay, but he was against the tariff, Jacksonian, and in favor of taking Texas. Tyler rejected by the Whigs was named by a convention of his own on the Texas platform, but receiving no encouragement, he withdrew on August 20, 1844, leaving the field to Polk and Clay. Jackson was still

living and his weight went to his fellow Tennessean. Clay was not clear on anything. He hedged a little on the annexation question, the chief objection to which was the addition of more slave territory. This cost him votes in the South. Endeavoring to overcome them, by deprecating the slavery arguments, he lost votes in the North. Texas became and remained the issue. While the election lacked the fury of that of 1840, it was spirited and the result close. Van Buren ran on a free-soil ticket and there was no popular majority, while Polk's plurality over Clay was less than forty thousand. For a time it looked as though Clay had won. I recall visiting Jackson's "Hermitage" near Nashville, in 1899, where there still was an old colored retainer who said: "You gentlemen from New York! Ole General mighty fond of New York. I member ebery one round heah done say Mas' Clay elected. Ole General he say, 'You all ain't heard from New York yet.' Sure 'nough when we heard from New York Mas' Clay not elected."

Polk had a majority of 69 electors. Seven free states voted for Clay and six for Polk. Polk was victor in eight slave states, Clay in five. Among the latter Tennessee shocked Jackson by giving Clay a majority of 113.

The Whigs raised a cry of fraud against the outcome in New York and Louisiana, but nothing was proven. Jackson was soon dead, adding to his regret that he had not hanged Calhoun, his neglect to shoot Henry Clay. Following his defeat Clay went into retirement at Ashland.

The annexation of Texas to which he had been op-

posed brought on the war with Mexico which was also against his judgment. His son, Henry Clay, Junior, went to the front and left his life at Buena Vista, heroically refusing when wounded to let his men bear him from the field at the risk of their own safety. The outcome of the war again brought the question of slavery to the fore. Calhoun and his associates turned eager eyes to the new territory, and Kentucky sent Clay to the Senate once more in 1849. He was now seventy-two and his days were numbered. There had been many changes since he left the chamber in 1842. William H. Seward and the slavery issue were prominent in it. He came back on the edge of a storm. So early as 1839 he had rejoiced "that it is not true that either of the two great parties in this country has any design or aim at abolition." Yet in the same speech his prophetic vision forced him to say that the question was "bound to persist in traveling the long and bloody road to the distant goal at which it would finally arrive."

He had much to do with the compromise of 1820 and was now to share responsibility for that of 1850. The coming of California, the rapid increase in new territories and incidentally states, menaced the balance maintained in politics that protected the institution. He knew the Union was in peril but like many others was guided by political expediency rather than the instincts of humanity—not that he was not a humane man. He was, but the problem was one with which neither he nor any other man was able to deal. Coincident with his return to public life Zachary Taylor became President and firmly grasped the trouble-

some situation in his first message. Could he have lived the course of events might possibly have been altered, or at least delayed.

The question of the admission of California and the status of the new territories became pressing and the task of adjusting the situation was given to Mr. Clay, who brought in a series of resolutions, eight in number, dealing with the various questions involved. These were referred on April 18, 1850, to a special committee of thirteen of which he became chairman. The other members were Lewis Cass of Michigan, Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, Samuel S. Phelps, of Vermont, James M. Mason, of Virginia, Jesse D. Bright, of Indiana, Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York, John M. Berrien, of Georgia, Willis P. Magum, of North Carolina, William R. King, of Alabama, Solomon W. Downs, of Louisiana, John Bell, of Tennessee and James Cooper, of Pennsylvania. To this very able body of men was given the task of shaping satisfactory legislation out of Clay's plan and such other material as might be offered. Clay held out nothing to slavery. His resolutions accepted for the territories taken from Mexico the free status they had enjoyed under its rule; leaving them to regulate the future themselves. To this Jefferson Davis, Senator from Mississippi objected as giving nothing to the South, and demanded the extension of the line of the Missouri Compromise to the Pacific, with a positive provision sanctioning slavery below it. "Coming as I do," replied Clay in a noble utterance, "from a slave state, it is my solemn, deliberate and well-matured determination that no power, no earthly power, shall compel me to vote for the posi-

tive introduction of slavery either south or north of that line."

The committee of thirteen reported in favor of Clay's proposition which was put in legislative form but rejected. For several months the differences were under debate. While pending, President Taylor died, on July 9, 1850. His death placed Millard Fillmore, a much different type of man in the White House.

In August the life had been taken out of the Clay measures, all that remained being a bill to take care of Utah and the Mormon Church, which was passed. Texas was up in arms, claiming a slice of soil held by New Mexico, while California adopted a constitution that prohibited slave-holding. In the crux Calhoun died. Clay, Webster and Fillmore succeeded in bringing about an adjustment. The compromise legislation was the last of Clay's labors. He came to Washington to attend the session of Congress opening in December, 1851, but could only sit in his senate seat a single day. Consumption had fixed its hold upon his tall body and he lingered an invalid until June 29, 1852, when he put all storms behind forever.

His demise filled the country with mourning. New York bedecked itself in black. The funeral train was everywhere greeted in sorrow as it bore his body back to Lexington. Then they recalled with regretful respect the man who said: "I had rather be right than be president" and wished that they had believed him right.

Clay had a smooth audacity that often stood him in great stead. He had been retained to represent the interests of Kentucky in a legal contest with Virginia

in the United States Supreme Court. Though Speaker of the House he had never appeared before that august body. He was rather discomposed at first facing the black-robed dignitaries, but observing Mr. Justice Bushrod Washington take snuff, he stepped gracefully forward and helped himself to a pinch, remarking, "I perceive your honor sticks to Scotch." This broke the ice, and almost broke up the court. No other than Clay could have taken the liberty.

In 1806 when Aaron Burr was held prisoner in Louisville, en route to Richmond for trial, a mob spirit rose that threatened his life. Clay was in town, and becoming alarmed, visited the prisoner, whose counsel he had been, and remarked reassuringly:

"Mr. Burr, whatever may be the excitement upon the street, depend upon it I will be answerable for your personal safety."

"Mr. Clay," was Burr's response, "I have never been placed in any circumstances where I could not protect myself."

Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri, "Old Bullion," was the only Senator who could get Mr. Clay's "goat" as we moderns say, and keep it. He could exasperate Clay into a trembling rage, all the while maintaining a huge placidity. During the debate on the fisheries question in 1832, Clay rubbed in Benton's duel with Jackson and quoted some of his remarks concerning the President with whom the Senator was then at peace, among others an alleged statement that were Jackson elected "we must be girded with pistols and dirks to defend ourselves while legislating here." This Benton denounced as "an atrocious calumny," and

added that there was "an adjourned question of veracity" between Clay and Jackson.

Clay retorted, "The assertion that there is an adjourned question of veracity between me and General Jackson, is, whether made by man or master absolutely false. * * * Can you look me in the face, Sir, and say you never used that language (pistols and dirks) out of the State of Missouri."

Mr. Benton.—I look, sir, and repeat that it is an atrocious calumny; and I will pin it to him who reflects it here.

Mr. Clay.—Then I declare before the Senate that you said to me the very words.

Mr. Benton.—False! False! False!

Mr. Clay.—I fling back the charge of atrocious calumny upon the senator from Missouri.

Mr. Ingersoll, Chairman protem.—The Senator from Kentucky is not in order and must take his seat.

Mr. Clay.—Will the chair state the point of order?

Mr. Ingersoll.—The chair can enter into no explanations with the Senator.

Mr. Clay.—I shall be heard. I demand to know what point of order can be taken against me, which was not equally applicable to the Senator from Missouri.

The chair.—The whole discussion is out of order. I would not have permitted it had I been in the chair when it commenced.

Mr. Benton.—I apologize to the Senate for the manner in which I have spoken; but not to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. Clay.—To the Senate I also offer apology. To the Senator from Missouri none.

V

LEWIS CASS

SOLDIER AND STATESMAN

NO party ever had worse luck in the political outcomes of a war than the Democratic in the consequences following that with Mexico. The great Andrew Jackson had seemingly made it omnipotent only to spoil his work by forcing the nomination of Martin Van Buren, leading to the triumph of Hard Cider and Log Cabins in the campaign of 1840, with its Whig victory. The death of William Henry Harrison after but a month in office, put John Tyler in his place. Tyler, though nominally a Whig, was also a Virginian, and his policies speedily became mainly those of Jackson. The election of James K. Polk, of Tennessee, Democrat, followed in 1844, and the party sun shone brighter than before. Then came the Mexican War cloud. The party had not developed any hero beside Jackson, who had been gathered to his fathers in 1845, and the small regular army had Winfield Scott, a Whig at its head with Zachary Taylor, unknown, in command on the border, where the trouble began. It all happened so quickly that Polk had no chance to head him off until his fame was firmly established. One Democrat gained repute with Taylor, Jefferson Davis, but he was only a colonel of volun-

teers, and beside was Taylor's son-in-law, and had left the army in a pique.

Scott as Commander-in-Chief, demanded his rightful place at the front. The perplexed Polk, quite aware of the political potentiality of Taylor's triumph, saw in Scott's claim a chance to kill two presidential possibilities at one essay, to the extent of creating a rivalry that might take them both out of the arena, and accordingly acceded to his desire. He was sent by sea to Vera Cruz, with a large force, further augmented by stripping Taylor's army of all but a few men, leaving him to contemplate the slow growth of cactus in Nuevo Leon while Scott hunted glory and Santa Anna from the Gulf to Chapultepec.

The war was a strictly Democratic affair, though run by a Whig general. One Democrat, Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, perceived the political possibilities of a war record and had himself appointed a Brigadier-General by Polk. His prescience panned out nicely as the sequel will reveal. There was rampant Whig opposition. No less personage than Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, expressed himself in the Senate in terms that rang: "If I were a Mexican," he told his colleagues from the South, "I would tell you, 'Have you not room enough in your country to bury your dead men? If you come into mine we will greet you with bloody hands and welcome you to hospitable graves.' " This, however, did not prevent the Whigs from making party capital out of the victories and eventually annexing Taylor. The latter, unfairly isolated at Monterey, soon found himself besought to be a candidate by both parties for the contest in 1848.

The Democrats thought he could be used to beat Scott should he secure the Whig nomination, while the Whigs saw in his fame and treatment a man more likely to win than the doughty general who was not popular with politicians and very indiscreet to boot, if he could be annexed.

Robert J. Walker, Polk's Secretary of the Treasury, put out a Democratic feeler to Jefferson Davis, also a Democrat from Walker's own State of Mississippi, to which the latter replied from Briarfield, Mississippi, June 20, 1847:

I cannot endorse the opinion that General Taylor has been a Democrat all his life. The statement in relation to his father as a supporter of Jefferson is correct, and it might have been added that the General has always referred to the strict Jeffersonian school as the one in which he had been taught, and the elements there acquired as the basis of his political opinions * * * Briefly I should say he is noparty man, would not consent to be the candidate of any party, and probably would disagree with the ultra men of both parties.

This was true so far as the last observation is concerned. Davis, while a young lieutenant had eloped with Taylor's daughter. Her death soon followed. As a result he was on terms more formal than intimate with the father, who a month later expressed himself to Colonel J. F. Hamtranck, at Saltillo, thus, writing from Monterey, July 30, 1847:

I fully agree with you that my returning to the United States at the time alluded to would be made a pretext for assailing me from various quarters * * * from one end of the Union to the other, by the various aspirants for the said office of

President. * * * I feel vulnerable only on one point—my want of proper qualifications for the office in question. It is a long time before the election comes on * * * before which many important changes at home and abroad may take place, so much so as to make it desirable for the general good that some other individual than myself should be selected as the candidate. * * * I have not the vanity to believe I have any pretensions to that distinguished station, but would not only acquiese with pleasure in such an arrangement, but would rejoice that the Republic had one citizen more worthy and better qualified than I am.

It will be perceived that Taylor was something more than receptive. He elected in the finality to take the Whig end and was duly nominated.

The Democrats were now in a quandary. They had no military man of size to pit against him and his utterances were of the sort to make him popular in the North. Polk, although he had conquered Mexico got no good opinions out of it. With the annexation of Texas, and the Mexican Territory gained, he was deemed to have merely made more room into which the slave power could expand. That meant increased political strength in the South. So the North took a stronger hand in Democratic politics and the leaders picked Lewis Cass, of Michigan as the standard bearer. He was at the time United States Senator with a long and honorable career to his credit. Probably he was the strongest man who could have been named.

Mr. Cass had his beginnings in New Hampshire. He was born at Exeter, October 9, 1782. John Cass, his father, was a spirited soldier in the Revolution, coming out of it with the rank of Major, and remain-

ing in the service. Sent against the Ohio Indians he saw much of the country and liking it resigned from the army and removed his family to Marietta, Ohio, in 1800. Lewis remained behind to complete his studies at Exeter Academy. Thence when eighteen, he walked across Pennsylvania to Pittsburgh and made his way down the Ohio to join his father who had settled on land given him for his services in the revolution. The youth did not care for farming and took to law, opening his office at Zanesville. Here he did well and in 1806 began his long political career by election to the Ohio legislature.

Burr's venture against the Spanish of the Southwest was taking form at Blennerhassett's island and caused general alarm. In the moves to thwart it Cass took an active part. He got thereby into the good graces of President Jefferson who praised an address Cass had penned on behalf of his fellow legislators denouncing the "conspiracy."

Tecumseh's agitations led to the raising of Ohio volunteers in 1811. Cass became a colonel. The war of 1812 followed and Cass headed the invasion into Canada, being the first man to set foot upon the soil in a hostile sense and fired the first shot. He was under General William Hull, when he surrendered Detroit, to the great disgust of the colonel, who was witness at the court martial which tried and sentenced Hull to death. Exchanged, he was given a colonel's commission in the regular army, and rose to Brigadier General. He fought in the battle of the Thames. General Harrison, departing for Buffalo after that victory, on October 28, 1813, appointed him Provisional Gover-

nor of the North-West Territory and left him with a thousand men to defend Detroit. President Madison next named him Territorial Governor of Michigan. In 1815 he removed his family to Detroit, filling the office until 1831. He performed a notable feat in 1820, when under orders from John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, he conducted an expedition along the North-West border, as far as then developed, to sweep out British trading posts and trespassers, Calhoun having in mind the trouble in the Ohio, Indiana and Michigan country after the Revolution because this precaution had not been then taken.

The disruption of President Andrew Jackson's cabinet in 1831, made an opening for Cass as Secretary of War. He was appointed and took office in July. He was much in Jackson's company and highly esteemed. Not agreeing with the Jackson policy of withdrawing government deposits from the United States Bank, Cass offered to resign on September 23, 1833. The President took no umbrage at the difference and urged him to keep his post. This he did until 1836, when toward the close of the Jackson administration he was appointed Minister to France. The General's regard for him was lasting and among the ornaments of the foyer in the Hermitage near Nashville, was a bust of Lewis Cass.

He filled the French post for six years. On his return from Paris New York made much of him. Philip Hone in his diary records on December 13, 1842:

> The late Minister to France is all the fashion in New York. He receives company in Presidential and Gubernatorial style

at the City Hall. He has defined his political sentiments in a letter to Governor Dickinson, of New Jersey, which is published with a flourish of trumpets for the benefit of all good Republicans who may have been troubled with doubts and misgivings on that important subject. He professes to be a Democrat of the Jefferson school and opposed to a National bank. The return of General Cass at this time, and the declaration drawn from him in the above mentioned letter seem to indicate pretty clearly that he is to add one to the number of candidates for the Presidency. He will be a thorn in the side of Mr. Van Buren, whose chances will be more affected by this new aspirant than by that of the Southern candidate. * * * It is pretty difficult for me to find out the claims of General Cass. But in that respect he stands about on a par with General Harrison at the time of his nomination. If Mr. Clay cannot be elected I do not know that I shall not be prepared to hurrah for Cass. Anybody but Calhoun, even Van Buren. I am a Northern man and a New Yorker. As such I can never consent to be ruled by one whose paramount principle is one of opposition to the interests and prosperity of this part of the Union. Mr. Calhoun has talents of a superior order, so much the worse; for his enmity is the more effective.

Mr. Cass now became Senator from Michigan. This seat he occupied in 1844 when he set up a candidacy for the Democratic Presidential nomination. The convention assembled at Baltimore, Maryland, May 27th. Van Buren, who had been beaten by William Henry Harrison in 1840, was regarded as most likely to capture the honor, despite his defeat and the fact that his previous candidacy had split the party. He had secured a majority of delegates by instruction. The convention promptly adopted the two thirds rule rendering his majority impotent.

On the first ballot Van Buren had 146 votes, the remaining 120 were scattered, but of these Cass had the largest number—83. All but twelve of the Southern men were recorded against Van Buren, while all but twenty-three from the North were behind him. His majority dropped to a plurality on the second ballot. By the time the fifth was polled he was in the minority thirteen, with 103 votes, while Cass had 107. On the eighth ballot the name of James K. Polk, of Tennessee, drew 44 votes. On the ninth Van Buren pulled out and Polk was unanimously named—to the great surprise of the country at large, and was elected.

Cass supported Polk in his settlement with Mexico, and kept himself to the fore in the Senate. Having made a brave showing in the convention of 1844, he became a foremost figure in that of 1848. New York had become a disturbing element. Silas Wright, who was elected Governor in 1844 ran away ahead of Polk. This was credited to the resentment of the Van Buren following. The result was the presence of two delegations from that state when the convention met at Baltimore on May 22nd. It was suggested that the factions each seat half their number. To this neither would agree and both sets bolted the convention. Cass, James Buchanan of Pennsylvania and Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire were the only names put in nomination. Cass led from the first ballot and on the fourth secured the needed two-thirds. General W. O. Butler, of Kentucky, who had succeeded Scott in command at Mexico after his recall, was named for Vice-President.

The platform characterized the conflict with Mexico as "a just and necessary war," endorsed the Polk ad-

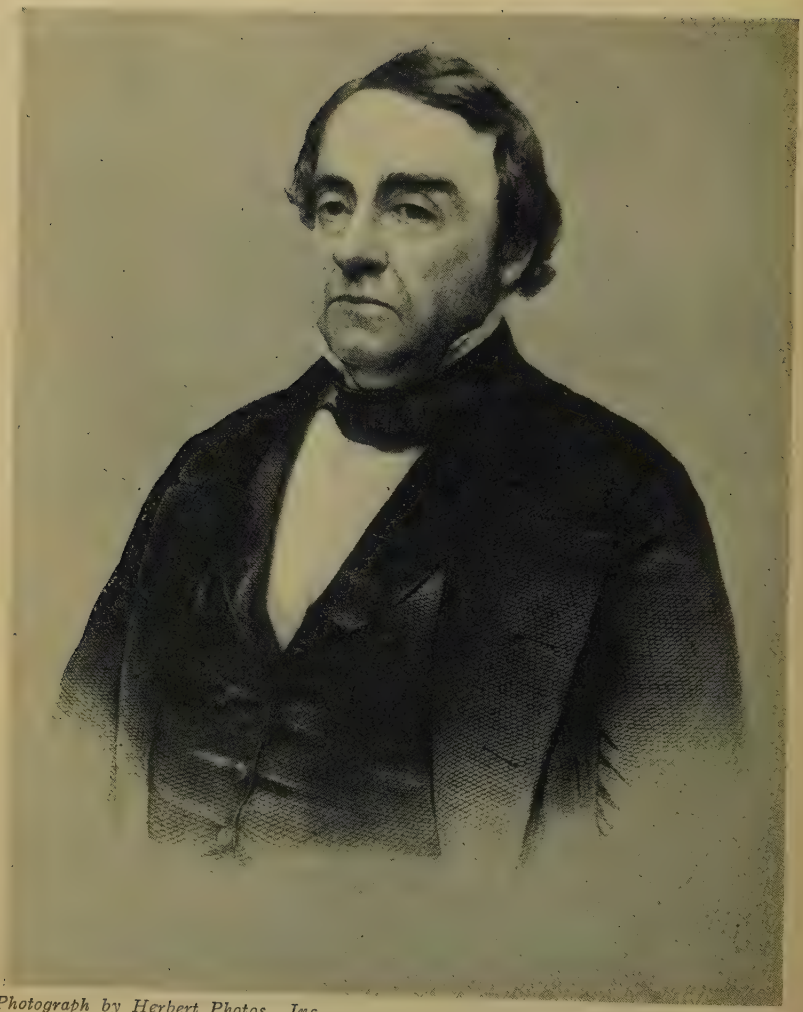
ministration and condemned its critics. An effort by William L. Yancey, eminent in time to come as a fire-eater, to secure the adoption of a resolution endorsing "non-interference with the rights and property of any portion of the people of this confederation, be it in the states or territories by any others than the parties interested therein" failed by a vote of 36 to 216. The convention thus set its face against what developed later as "squatter sovereignty." The vote was, however, a bit of dodging. The great majority did not want to stir up the slavery question. Cass himself favored the doctrine voiced by Yancey and later adopted by Stephen A. Douglas.

When Cass became a candidate Philip Hone changed his tune. "Shall General Cass be President?" he asks himself on Jan. 7, 1848. "Never if I can prevent it. His principles are more dangerous than those of any other man who has been named by his party as their candidate. He is an embodiment of political humbug and demogogism, administering to the worst part of the community. He made a fool of himself as Minister to France by writing a book of gossip about the King and court and since his return has courted the populace by declaring war pretty much against all 'princes, potentates and powers.' The annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico received his hearty support and he now threatens to subjugate the whole of the American continent."

Taylor was no campaigner. Cass was. Aside from military qualities—and these were freely questioned—Taylor's talents were not known. His Whiggery, if he had any, was of recent date. His party's attitude

toward a successful war was not helpful and hardly to be redeemed by selecting one of the heroes to head it. On the other hand, however, Martin Van Buren, once President, and Jackson's heir, headed a Free-Soil ticket that was a factor of danger and the Abolitionists showed themselves for the first time behind James G. Birney. Birney was an Alabamian who had secured legislation in his state to mitigate the condition of the slaves. Visiting the free states he became convinced that bondage should be abolished for the general good and removed North in 1834, to make abolition the work of his life. So it came about that the great movement for freedom had its first political presence made known by a Jackson Democrat and a Southern man.

Cass while Minister to France had to deal with a delicate international situation affecting the slave trade. As a result of the War of 1812 the right to search American ships at sea had been given over by England. That country, in suppressing the slave trade, joined with France, Austria, Prussia and Russia, in a "quintuple treaty" by which each nation permitted visits to its vessels by naval officers, seeking slaves. The stars and stripes flew over many vessels engaged in the illicit trade, but we declined to yield the concession of search. The difficulty was solved after a fashion in the Ashburton Treaty of 1842, when the United States agreed to join in the hunt, and so presumably would look after its own vessels. The efforts to keep free soil and abolition out of the canvass were, as noted unavailing, though they did not get into it very deeply as issues. Birney had but 75,000 votes, but Van Buren out to beat Cass, did it. The campaign was



Photograph by Herbert Photos., Inc.

LEWIS CASS

not exciting, outside of New York. There, however, Van Buren had 120,000 to 114,000 for Cass. Taylor's total was 218,000 in the State. This gave him its electors. Cass also lost Pennsylvania, the recently enacted Walker Tariff disgruntling that fortress of protection. Taylor ran ahead of Cass 139,557 on the popular vote and had a majority of 36 in the electoral college. Either New York or Pennsylvania would have saved Cass. Eight free and seven slave states voted for him, while eight slave and seven free states supported Taylor. Sectionalism was not yet on top. The wedge of separatism showed itself in Congress where thirteen Free-Soil representatives held the balance of power between 112 Democrats and 105 Whigs. The Senate was left Democratic by ten majority.

After his defeat Cass continued in the Senate favoring the compromise of 1850 and its attendant evils. "I believe the law will be executed," he said, "wherever the flag of the Union waves. * * * A wonderful change in public sentiment has taken place. It is going on and will go onward until the great object is accomplished. We see it in the North, we see it in the West, and all around us. We cannot mistake it." But he could and did, though there was ample excuse for the error.

The Democratic Convention, which met at Baltimore on June 1, 1852, opened with a determined effort to give Cass another try at the Presidency. He received on the first ballot one hundred and sixteen votes against ninety-three for James Buchanan, twenty-seven for William L. Marcy and twenty for Stephen A. Douglas. A prolonged contest followed that ended

on the fifth day in the defeat of all four, and the selection of Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire. William R. King of Louisiana was named nominee for Vice-President.

When James Buchanan became President, March 4, 1857, he made Cass his Secretary of State. Much water had gone over the dam since 1848. Two administrations had weathered the storms of the Anti-Slavery agitation, and Buchanan's victory was welcomed with a sigh of relief. The radicals had again been badly beaten and it looked as if the country could sleep safely under the Constitution. Cass had supported the compromise of 1850, in his desire to allay the Free-Soil and Abolitionist sentiment which he foresaw would endanger the Union. Taking middle ground, neither side liked him, and he won the epithet of being the biggest "Dough-face" in politics, that being the gentle term applied to compromisers by the radical element in the North.

The attempt of William Walker, the filibuster, to aggrandize Nicaragua gave the Secretary of State a problem to deal with that was bothersome. He had made a treaty with Nicaragua which authorized the United States to keep a proposed canal route open. It was used as a part of the road to California. Walker interrupted it and had to be pulled off. There was much sympathy for the adventurer in the South and this made the situation delicate to deal with. Honduras, not liking the gringos gave some rights to England that were in our way. Cass was dull in dealing with the questions involved. He was seventy-five years old and had done his share. Buchanan wanted

to buy Cuba as an outlet for slave pressure but could not get the $30,000,000 he needed from Congress. Paraguay insulted us and was made to apologize. He also wanted to meddle in Mexico, but Congress failed to see in it anything beyond more reaching out by the slave power which Buchanan vainly tried to pacify. Cass dealt ably with China in making a Treaty, which was nearly upset by Commodore Tatnall's going to the rescue of the beaten British in the Pei-ho river. The British in 1857–58 became aggressive searching American vessels willy-nilly. Cass's protests were backed up by the Navy department ordering warships to Cuban waters to see that none were molested. The British Minister at Washington promptly acceded to the demand that the practice stop. Negotiations were undertaken to develop a plan that would curb Cuban slavery but nothing came of it. Slave trading was near its end, but in quite another fashion, though the daring of the slavers was to continue briefly. Blacks were continually landed in gulf ports either direct or from Cuba. So late as 1859 a slave cargo was landed on Jekyl Island, Georgia, and in 1862, Captain Nathaniel Gordon, master of the ship *Erie,* was hanged in the New York Tombs for violating the law making slave transportation a capital offense, passed by Congress in 1820. He was the only man ever so punished—and both he and his ship hailed from Portland, Maine!

Cass fell naturally into harmony with the "squatter sovereignty" ideas of Douglas, which was not Buchanan's view at all. He stuck to the Constitution as the sole safeguard of the nation, as it would have been had the nation paid any attention to it, which

it did not save for a very few, who ranked as the rankest kind of pro-slaveryites. Thus it was that Cass, firm for the Union was powerless in the crisis that developed after the election in 1860. He had support in the Cabinet only from Attorney General J. S. Black and Postmaster General Joseph Holt. It was his desire to awe Charleston with a heavy force, but could not get it done, by the recalcitrant Secretary of War J. B. Floyd. Nor would Isaac Toucey, Secretary of the Navy, act. Buchanan could not be moved to go over their heads. Cass quoted Andrew Jackson in vain to Buchanan. He went on record publicly. "I speak to Cobb" he is quoted as saying "and he tells me he is a Georgian, to Floyd and he tells me he is a Virginian, to you (W. H. Trescot), and you tell me you are a Carolinian. I am not a Michigander: I am a citizen of the United States. The laws of the United States bind you, as they bind me, individually; if you the citizens of Georgia, or Virginia, or Carolina refuse obedience to them, it is my sworn duty to enforce them." Holding these sentiments and receiving no support for them from the President he notified Mr. Buchanan on December 11, 1860, of his purpose to resign. He gave his reasons boldly. They included the President's unwillingness to garrison the Charleston forts and collect the revenues, under guard of a man of war. So it was that while the Southern members left the cabinet because their states had forsaken the Union, Cass got out because he thought the Union was being abandoned by its sworn head. Believing the cabinet full of traitors and Buchanan helpless, on December 21, 1860, convinced that all he wished to do was in vain,

the Secretary of State laid down his office. Buchanan feebly put the responsibility on Floyd and Toucey as "not concurring in your views" when he accepted the resignation.

The veteran statesman went back to Detroit firm for the Union after a career of public honor such as it has been given few men to enjoy. His name holds a high place on the roll of those who deserve well of their country. Mr. Cass was a man of noble physique, which expanded into obesity. He was conspicuous in the Senate for perspiring freely and always waving a fan in warm weather. He carried his idea of being a citizen of the United States to the limit of refusing to be called a "Michigander" as too suggestive of being a male goose. He was a clear, convincing speaker in his ability to arrange facts, but debate confused him and he was not apt at retort. On the other hand he was an admirable writer. His kindness of heart was universally commended. No man could be more helpful to his fellows than Lewis Cass tried to be.

VI

DANIEL WEBSTER

"THE GOD-LIKE DANIEL"

DANIEL WEBSTER remains the finest figure that ever sat in the Senate or filled the high office of Secretary of State. "Little Black Dan" they called him in Salisbury, N. H., where he was born January 18, 1782. Destiny sent him early to the law. His forensic ability remains unequaled in this, if not any other land. He won his first case against his brother Ezekiel, who also became an eminent attorney. When a lad at Salisbury, Ezekiel had caught a woodchuck and was about to kill the amiable animal, whose shiverings aroused Daniel's compassion. He pleaded with his father to make Ezekiel release the rodent. Ebenezer Webster, his parent, was a man of brains and humor. He set himself up as a judge and ordered the boys to argue the case. This they did with great eloquence. Daniel outtalked Ezekiel and Mister 'Chuck was sent happily back to his burrow.

Salisbury always held a deep place in Webster's heart. Coming back to Boston after a hard session of the Senate he found a delegation from his home town awaiting him. A skillful secretary side-tracked them, and brought word that Mr. Webster was too tired to see anybody. The delegates were insistent. They were

not office seekers and the matter of their mission was one of the utmost importance. So Mr. Webster came downstairs and heard them in the hall. Their business was indeed important. A Salisbury boy had been arrested on a charge of murder. The evidence was circumstantial but so conclusive that no lawyer of lesser weight than Daniel Webster could be trusted to tear it apart. The prisoner was popular and his friends were certain of his innocence. They had come to implore the Senator to take the case.

When the story was told the weary Webster rather brusquely informed the committee that he could not assume the task, and with this curt dismissal he turned away. As he did he heard the Chairman remark half aloud: "I don't know what the neighbors will say to this."

"What's that?" queried Webster, turning on his heel: "It's the neighbors, is it?" Being informed that it was, he took the retainer and acquitted the accused. It was not in him to fail "the neighbors" of Salisbury.

The Websters were of the best grade of New England Americans. Major Ebenezer Webster served under Amherst in the French and Indian War, was with Stark at Bennington and saw Burgoyne surrender his sword at Saratoga. He too, was a lawyer and died a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in New Hampshire. Daniel therefore did not lack background. He was well tutored for College at Phillips Academy, Exeter, and by Dr. Samuel Wood of Boscawen, entering Dartmouth in 1797, and graduating in 1801. He stepped to the front as an orator while in his classes, and expected to deliver the Latin valedictory.

The Faculty ruled otherwise, preferring him to exhibit his talents in an English oration or by the composition of a poem. He did neither. Hanover, where Dartmouth is located gave the student at nineteen, the honor of delivering its Fourth of July oration. After graduation he studied law with Thomas W. Thompson an attorney of distinction, who became a United States Senator, and then to secure funds for further study taught in the academy at Fryeburg, Maine, on the New Hampshire border. He was paid $350 for the year, adding thereto by acting as assistant to Samuel Osgood, Registrar of Deeds for the western district of Oxford County. They still show his handwriting in the old records. He went back to Thompson's office in Salisbury for two years, thence to Boston, where he qualified for the bar with Christopher Gore, and was admitted in 1805. He first tried practicing at Boscawen, N. H., then went to Portsmouth where he prospered, and whence he was sent to Congress in 1813, serving two terms. In 1816 he removed to Boston and thereafter was a Massachusetts man in all that this implies. In 1823 he went again to Congress, where a speech on the Greek Revolution, in which a Boston man, Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, was serving, spread his fame as an orator. June 17, 1825, he made the oration at the laying of the cornerstone of Bunker Hill monument. In 1827 he was elected to the United States Senate and took his high place in American affairs.

Contemporaneous with Clay and Calhoun, he played in many ways the greater part. As parties shaped up he became the foremost Whig in the North.

What started innocently enough in a discussion on the policy dealing with public lands and the tariff ended in uncovering the South Carolina purpose to nullify laws not to her liking. Robert J. Hayne was the spokesman on the floor of the Senate and Webster replied for the North. The great debate began on January 19th and ran along during February and March, 1830. Hayne laid down his defense of state rights in no uncertain tone and Webster was equally emphatic in his reply. It lives as one of the masterpieces of American argument and oratory. Hayne's speeches were of no small caliber and accordingly heightened the merit of Webster's response.

It is said he had not thought of making himself the champion of the national idea, but it came to him in an impulse aroused by the sudden discernment of South Carolina's purpose as revealed by Hayne. At any rate he rose to the occasion and for two days poured out a speech that still echoes and lifted him to the topmost heights of forensic fame. The issues have long since been washed out in blood but the halo there earned still shines around Daniel Webster's noble brow. His voice was that of melody: it charmed like the harp of Orpheus. He usually began speaking sedately with arms folded across his chest. Then as the power seized him he would accentuate words with gestures. Where Clay was elegant and ornate in speech Webster's flowed like a resistless torrent of fact and logic. One who knew him well has thus strikingly described him:

"Imagine a man of full stature, with a broad chest, sinewy limbs, apparently possessing vast physical

strength, and you will form a general idea of the outer-man of Daniel Webster. * * * Such a head and face * * * I believe has scarcely ever before or since been seen on human shoulders. The cranium was large, well-shaped, and thinly covered with dark brown hair, which being carelessly thrown back in front revealed a most capacious forehead. This forehead bulged, as it were, forward, as though the large amount of brain within had pushed forward its barrier of frontal bone. That the cerebral organ was of unusual size and capacity was proved on a post-mortem examination, when it was found that, with the sole exception of Baron Cuvier's, Webster's brain was the largest ever known. At the base of this domed palace of the soul were a pair of dark, bushy brows, that over-shadowed the most singular eyes I ever beheld. These were dark, large and so deeply set as to literally glow in their cavernous recesses. They did not flash, excepting in moments of great excitement, and then their lustre was amazing; but their steady, awful glow was what rendered them so remarkable."

His "mouth was stern and large" but his nose "was out of character with the rest of his face." The "chin was large, and its lower part was concealed in the angular folds of a white cravat over which drooped a collar." A swarthy tinted skin" added to "the sombre majesty" of the statesman's countenance. Indeed his appearance warranted the term "majestic." He was "God-like" as they called him after the reply to Hayne. Sydney Smith thought him "a steam engine in trousers" and wondered if any man could be as great as Webster looked. His invariable costume was a blue

coat with brass buttons, a buff vest and black pantaloons.

Men of intellect and fortune sought his presence. He often appeared in the select circle whose doings Philip Hone, Mayor of New York, chronicled in his diary. When he visited the metropolis throngs followed him and thousands packed the docks to witness his departure by steamer to Boston. New York did its best to secure him the presidential nomination in 1836. Eleven hundred signatures adorned a call for a meeting at Masonic Hall, Friday evening, December 4, 1835, at which his name was formally presented to the country. On March 26, 1836, the Massachusetts legislature resolved itself into a convention and nominated Mr. Webster for the presidency. At this a letter was read from the Senator expressing both a willingness to retire from the contest, or to stand by his friends "whether in minorities or majorities, in prosperous or adverse fortune."

The Whig party was not yet hammered into cognate shape, with the result that three Whig candidates sought suffrage against Martin Van Buren who had been jammed down the throats of the Democracy by the determined Jackson. These were William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, who had the largest following, Hugh L. White, of Tennessee, whom Benton called the representative of a fragment of Democracy, and in a way Webster, who only received the fourteen electoral votes of Massachusetts. Harrison got seventy-three electors and White twenty-six. South Carolina gave her votes to her senator William P. Magum. Thus the country flouted its greatest statesman.

Disgusted with his treatment Webster contemplated leaving the Senate, but was dissuaded by his New York friends, who gave him a great reception, at Niblo's Saloon on March 5, 1837, on the heels of Van Buren's inauguration, at which some boys knocked over an old stove in the rear of the crowded hall and started a panic which Webster stopped with: "Nothing has broken, my friends, but your patience and the thread of my argument."

Webster, with his wife then made a tour of the country, looking again toward the Presidency. He was everywhere received with acclaim, including Nashville, Jackson's home town, to which the General had just returned. In 1839 he visited England and was received with almost royal honors. Returning, he took an effective part in the campaign that was to elect William Henry Harrison and make him Secretary of State. He was called upon to revise that gentleman's inaugural address which was overloaded with classical allusions, so much so that Mr. Webster afterwards declared he "had killed twenty Roman proconsuls" in the process of rendering it less ponderous. The death of Harrison and the coming of Tyler to the Presidency brought political confusion. Wide apart as they were Webster concluded to remain in the Cabinet. This action hurt him greatly with the extreme Whigs and he was left much upon the defensive. He settled the Maine boundary dispute with Lord Ashburton, came to an agreement about Oregon which the British rejected, and then weary of friction retired from his office. The precipitating cause was the dis-

covery that President Tyler had been negotiating in secret for the annexation of Texas. He laid down the portfolio, May 8, 1843.

Massachusetts speedily returned him to the Senate. He was there in opposition to the Mexican War when it came brewing. Like Clay, the conflict cost him a son, Edward Webster, who died a major in Mexico, victim of tropical fever. In 1847 he made another tour South looking for the Presidential nomination in 1848. He was again received with a cordiality that failed to congeal into delegates. Richmond and Charleston gave him public dinners and he was made much of. Colonel Hayne, his old antagonist made an eloquent address of welcome. He came back to vote against the Treaty with Mexico which Polk had almost privately consummated.

The Whigs met in convention at Philadelphia on June 7, 1848, to nominate a Presidential ticket. It should have been Webster's turn. Clay had twice tried only to meet with defeat. Yet he received 97 votes on the third ballot to but 22 for Mr. Webster, and 111 for Zachary Taylor, who was nominated on the fourth ballot. It seems amazing that so distinguished a man should fare so badly. The convention, had, however picked a winner which would probably not have been the case had it named Webster. He was opposed not only to the extension of slavery but regarded its existence as an unmitigated evil, and believed the effort to choke the abolition movement was only tending to increase its strength for an explosion. When Congress came together in December, 1848, Polk's message

asked for the creation of territorial governments in New Mexico and Utah. Here Webster demolished a string of Calhoun's sophisms. Nothing was done and the problem was left to the new Congress.

The outcome of the territorial situation was the compromise of 1850, which has been fully credited to Clay, while Calhoun's part has been described. Here Clay and Webster who had so long figured in the arena were together for the last time. On March 7, 1850, after Calhoun's final utterances were read, Webster declared himself on the subject.

"The imprisoned winds are loose" he said in his opening. "The East, the North and the Stormy South combine to throw the whole sea into commotion, to toss its billows to the skies and disclose its profoundest depths." Because a portion of the territory acquired by the war of acquisition, as he termed that with Mexico, had a warm climate, it was natural that the South turned to it as its possession. He then gave a luminous outline of slavery in all its phases as it had affected the nation. It was repugnant to the framers of the Constitution. He opposed its introduction into California and New Mexico. Both to his mind were destined to be free, mainly because they afforded no profitable opportunity for slave labor. "I am ready" he declared "to assert the principle of the exclusion of slavery." But he also thought the complaints of the South concerning the non-rendition of fugitive slaves were just and deserved a remedy. Senator J. M. Mason, of Virginia, had introduced an act to that effect which Webster accepted with some minor amendments, thus flying in the

face of the abolition societies that were strongest in his own state. He went so far as to denounce these as useless. "I think their operations for the last twenty years have produced nothing good or valuable," was his estimate of their accomplishments. He noted the violence of the Northern press but found that of the South even more truculent, yet could discover "no solid grievance presented by the South within the redress of the government," aside from "a proper regard to the injunction of the constitution for the delivery of fugitive slaves." His speech lost him caste in the North. He was regarded as bidding for the Presidency. Massachusetts loathed him. Resolutions denouncing him were adopted at a mass meeting held in Faneuil Hall, after Theodore Parker had declared: "I know no deed in American history by a son of New England to which I can compare this but the act of Benedict Arnold." When Webster's friends asked for the use of the hall for the purpose of giving him a hearing the corporation of Boston refused the request. "Where am I to go?" asked the bewildered statesman. "To the devil" was the most common reply. The New York *Tribune* declared he could not expect a single Whig vote in the next National Convention. His admiring friend the editor of the Boston *Atlas* reprehended him severely. The Church leaders of the North were almost unanimous against him. John Greenleaf Whittier, the Quaker poet, of Amesbury, wrote "Ichabod." It became a favorite rune with the Abolitionists and was read aloud at many meetings. Here are some of its stinging stanzas:

So fallen! So lost! The light withdrawn
Which once he wore!
The glory from his gray hairs gone
Forevermore!
Revile him not, the Tempter hath
A snare for all!
And pitying tears, not scorned wrath
Befit his fall!

* * *

All else is gone; from those great eyes
The soul has fled:
When faith is lost, when honor dies,
The man is dead!
Then pay the reverence of old days
To his dead fame;
Walk backward with averted gaze,
And hide the shame!

Webster was stunned. He had considered the ebullitions of anti-slavery as mere local outbursts. To find the whole state and the Whig press against him was crushing. The speech was commended in the South. Even Calhoun approved of it in his last moments. The death of President Taylor caused a reorganization of the Cabinet and President Fillmore made Webster Secretary of State, which took him out of the turmoil. The compromise had a good effect outside of Massachusetts and the country cheered up. But Webster approached the next try for the Whig nomination as Theodore Parker declared "a bankrupt politican in desperate political circumstances, yearning for the Presidency."

RETIRING GRACEFULLY.

THE MILL-BOY.—WELL, DAN, I THINK THE WAY IS CLEAR NOW FOR THE VETERAN OF MONTEREY
D BUENA VISTA. I DON'T SEE THAT THE INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRY DEMAND THAT I SHOULD
DEFEATED A FOURTH TIME.
THE GOD-LIKE.—TO TELL YOU THE TRUTH, SO THAT YOU DON'T RUN, I'M SATISFIED TO POSTPONE
SOUTHERN TOUR. SO THEN, LET'S HURRA FOR OLD ROUGH AND READY!

CLAY AND WEBSTER

An unusually interesting cartoon showing these two leaders in conference.
From *Yankee Doodle,* May 1, 1847

He had been kept pretty busy as Secretary of State. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty affecting the Isthmus and the Lopez expedition to Cuba gave him much to do, which as was his wont he accomplished ably.

The Whig convention met at Baltimore June 16, 1852. Franklin Pierce had already been named by the Democrats, on his Mexican war record. It was a gathering from which ordinarily Webster could have expected much. His friend Rufus Choate was there. So was William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine; John Sherman, of Ohio; Henry L. Dawes, of Massachusetts; William M. Evarts, of New York; E. D. Baker, of Illinois; William L. Dayton of New Jersey; and John M. Clayton of Delaware, most of whom were soon to be sizable figures in the new Republican party. Millard Fillmore was a candidate for renomination, while Webster came, as James Ford Rhodes writes it, to demand the nomination as a right rather than "to be begged for." Least likely to win of all was Lieutenant General Winfield Scott, conqueror of Mexico, and of all the men in sight the least fitted for the honor.

Fillmore had not hesitated to enforce the fugitive slave law, or to use patronage in collecting delegates of which he had a good supply, mainly from the South. Henry Clay had endorsed him from the edge of the grave. After three days of endeavor a platform was constructed which met the views of the South, Webster and his supporters. It "received and acquiesced" in the fugitive slave law and insisted on its strict enforcement. Rufus Choate was spokesman for the resolution, endorsing it, even though he came from Boston. He thanked God for the courage (that of Webster

and Clay) that had brought about the compromise. He was surpassingly eloquent and earned loud applause, which was not joined in by John Minor Botts, of Virginia, who had the Scott boom in custody. He reproved Choate for exalting Webster instead of advocating the platform which the clever orator used as an excuse for giving Webster another boost to win: "What a reputation that must be, what a patriotism that must be, what a long and brilliant series of public services that must be, when you cannot mention a measure of utility like this but every eye spontaneously turns to, and every voice, spontaneously utters, that great name of Daniel Webster."

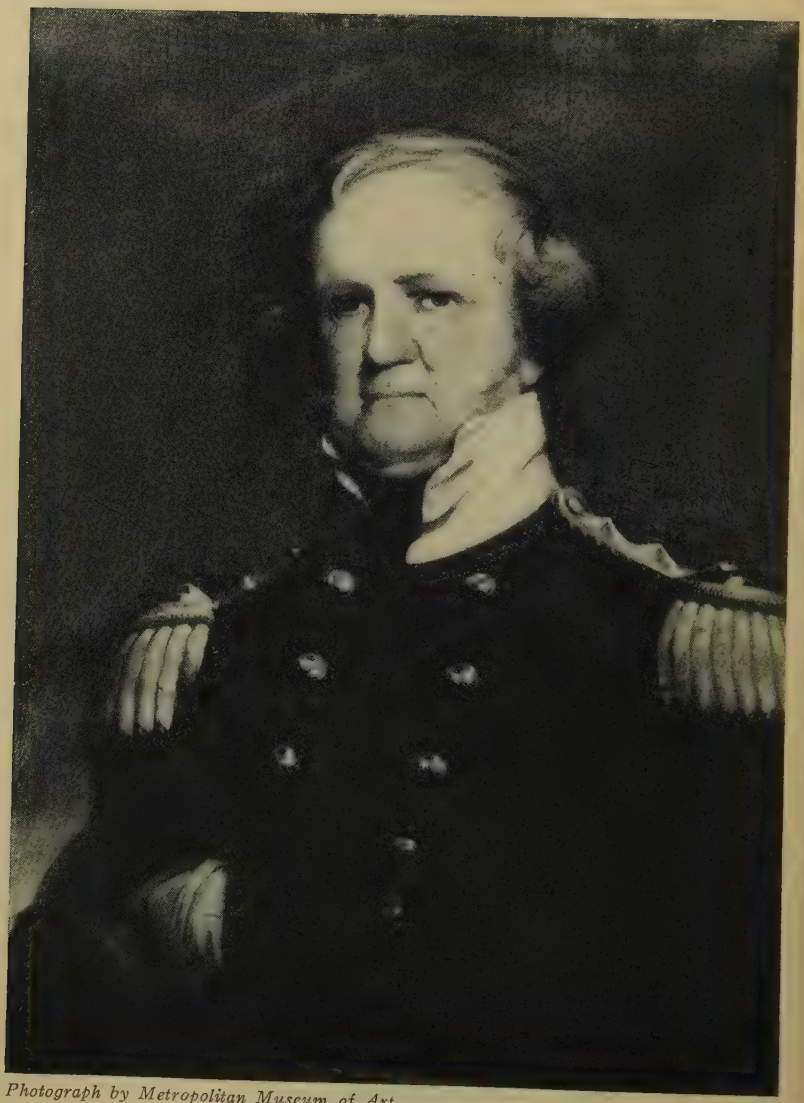
One Ohio man made a speech against the resolution but it passed 237 to 66. The 66 were Scott men from the North. The shrewd influence of William H. Seward was behind Scott as well as this group of delegates. He and Fillmore were at odds in New York. When nominations became in order, Webster, Fillmore and Scott were named. The first roll call brought Webster but a pitiful 29 votes. Fillmore had 133; Scott 131, though no one knew how he stood on the fugitive slave law. In truth they all wished to put it out of the picture. Fillmore had enforced it and Webster had aided its passage. The balloting went on tediously with little change until fifty ballots had been taken. Then the South sidled toward Scott. Webster's best total had been 31. On the fifty-third ballot Scott stood 159, Fillmore 112. The big General had carried off the prize and the greatest American of his day was a very bad third. His "right" had been ruthlessly ignored. The convention was hunting a winner. It had

won with one general and thought it could do so with another. Fillmore and Webster were friends. The President had written a letter to be presented at the proper moment withdrawing his name, in the hope of saving Webster if he could not win himself. The letter was withheld. Important men from the South like Robert Toombs and Alexander H. Stephens did their best for Webster. They truly thought a break would nominate him as they counted on 106 votes from the South. Seward really sealed his doom by holding the New York delegation solid for Scott. Webster himself had framed and polished the platform. In this mean fashion the God-like Daniel departed from public life. William A. Graham, of North Carolina, Fillmore's secretary of the Navy was nominated for Vice-President.

Webster was named for President by a Union Convention held in Georgia and by some New Jersey "National Americans" at Trenton. Massachusetts also selected a set of Webster electors. To all these he paid no attention. There was a revulsion in Massachusetts. On July 9, 1851, he was given a great welcome in Boston and made a tactful, gracious address in appreciation. "Massachusetts, There she stands" has become the state's motto. He did not live to see his party's defeat and extinction. Like Clay he was to depart before the day of disaster. In September, 1852, feeble and without spirit he retired to Marshfield, his Massachusetts estate, where he awaited dissolution with dignity and decorum. Sunday, October 24th, the end came gently, "I shall die tonight," he told his physician the day before. "You are right, sir," was the response.

At a little past midnight he slipped away, his last whisper being, "I still live."

They carried him to the quiet acre in Marshfield without the parade that had followed Clay to his rest. But the country tolled its bells and men everywhere knew a giant had fallen.



Photograph by Metropolitan Museum of Art

WINFIELD SCOTT
From a painting by R. W. Weir

VII

WINFIELD SCOTT

"OLD FUSS AND FEATHERS"

WHAT sort of personage was it who could put to rout a President firmly installed in office and shut out the greatest orator and statesman the country ever produced? Picture to yourself a mountain of a man, six feet four inches tall, in his stocking feet, with shoulders half as broad, bearing enormous epaulets of gold tinsel, and further enlarged to circus-giant size by high-heeled boots and a huge cocked hat surmounted by a towering mass of waving plumes and you have Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, commander-in-chief of the United States army from 1841 to 1861.

He took proper pride in his majestic proportions and was accounted handsome even if the spiteful Myra Clark Gaines, wife of an envious fellow-general, Edmund P. Gaines, once declared that his pursed up lips could "be covered with a button." The mouth was certainly small in so vast a face and outside of eating he did not know how to use it—or rather his tongue. That unruly member often made him ridiculous. On the side of feeding himself the mouth did better. He had gustatory talent of an unusual character and knew how to cook as well as how to fight—and in the latter

quality he ranked superior from Lundy's Lane to Chapultepec. He would often don an apron and take a turn in the kitchen to bring out the perfect flavor of a Virginia ham, a wild turkey or choice oysters from some special Chesapeake Bay creek. Moreover he could cook a canvas-back duck to perfection, stew terrapin into a dish of delight and roast a haunch of venison admirably. He was, too, an expert at compounding salad and would objurgate the guest who cut his lettuce instead of breaking it. Beyond all he had mastered the art of making bread. Also he was a judge of vintages and liked soup.

The two last named tastes injured what was in most respects a reputation nearly as majestic as his person. The use of wine was regarded by the majority of his democratic fellow citizens as an aristocratic habit affected by kings and dukes. It was sternly frowned upon, while corn whisky such as Henry Clay drank was considered au fait. They disapproved of Daniel Webster's brandy, even though attractively served in juleps. Soup was a specialty of the despised, frog-eating French and in no respect could be called fit for real men, such as all true Americans, were.

However, his little dinners were delectable. He was justly proud of his culinary accomplishments. Add to this his repute as a successful soldier, with knowledge of affairs, civil as well as miltiary, a character without blemish, a kindly attitude toward all men and women. He also possessed a blunt frankness that gave him a reputation for indiscretion. This he deserved, but amply offset it by his truthfulness and honesty. It will be seen that he was a personage as well as a Whig who

was distinguished enough to sit Clay and Webster on his right and left hand.

Scott was a Virginian, born in Dinwiddie County, near Fredericksburg, June 13, 1785, and properly proud of the fact, though he never allowed regard for the Commonwealth to get ahead of his affection for the United States. He became a student at the College of William and Mary at Williamsburg, then the intellectual center of the South. Taking on the study of law, he was admitted to the bar in 1806, and did some practicing. His was a military, not a legal mind, and his love of arms with its incidental splendor led him into the regular service, becoming a captain of field artillery, in 1808. He had been stirred into this step by the attack of the British frigate *Leopard* on our *Chesapeake* which put shame upon the navy and set the land aflame with resentment. The little army was spruced up for the inevitable conflict with Britain. Thus room was found toward the top for the handsome young giant. He had only four years to wait before hostilities were declared on the part of the United States, weak alike on land and sea, but very valiant, and determined to assert its rights.

The naval record of the war shines with glory; that on land was dimmed by defeat. Washington was raided, the Capitol and White House burned, but the chief fighting was along the Canadian border from Detroit to Plattsburg. General William Hull's ignominious surrender at Detroit, and James Wilkinson's sorry showing in North-western New York are tales we do not like to dwell upon. In the midst of the welter Scott was destined to appear as an unconquerable

figure. Wilkinson was commander-in-chief of the army, having won that place largely by his treachery to Aaron Burr and Scott was in trouble with him before the war broke. In March, 1812, he had, because of his legal training been Judge Advocate in the trial of Colonel Cushing, a celebrated case in its day, that made him prominent in the service and led to a clash with his commander. He expressed some opinions of the gentleman that were out of accord with discipline, was arrested and brought before a court martial. He was found guilty of "speaking with contempt and disrespect of his commanding officer" and was suspended for a year. The good man could never control his tongue. The war brushed aside his indiscretion. He was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel of Izard's Second regiment of artillery and from then on grew in size.

He began to show his talents first in the fighting around Niagara, was in the assault on Queenstown, in which disaster he was taken prisoner and sent to Quebec, to be exchanged a month later. One wonders if the British got as good a soldier in return. General Dearborn speedily made him Adjutant-General. May 27, 1813, he led the successful attack on Fort George. Promoted to a colonelcy in July, he resigned as Adjutant-General and was given command of Fort George. After some activity he wintered in Albany, New York; there promoted to be Brigadier-General in the spring. Chippewa, Lundy's Lane and Bridgewater followed. The army was put in the ascendant. For these victories he was brevetted Major-General, given a vote of thanks and a gold medal by Congress, a sword by Petersburg, another by the State of Virginia

and a degree of A.M. by Princeton. Virginia also named a new county after him. Severe wounds compelled him to quit the field and he was appointed Commander of the Tenth Military District. Scott, as a young attorney, had looked in at the trial of Aaron Burr at Richmond. When he received his General's commission at Albany, some friends gave him a dinner. One of the guests was Burr. He was placed opposite. Looking keenly at the tall young warrior, Burr exclaimed:

"General Scott, I've seen you before."

"Have you, indeed."

"Yes, I saw you at my trial."

Scott once had the honor of being challenged to fight a duel by no less personage than Andrew Jackson. In 1817 Jackson's arbitrary actions in Florida had laid him open to much criticism. Scott was among the critics. He was quoted to Jackson as having described his course as "an act of mutiny" in an anonymous letter. Scott stood his ground. He admitted that Jackson was his superior in rank, but not his commanding officer. He added that if he had been in his division he would not have hesitated to have expressed the opinon he held—that Jackson's order of April 22, 1817, was mutinous in its character. Jackson sent back a long and furious reply, ending in a challenge. Scott declined to fight for religious reasons, and suggested it would be easy for Jackson to console himself by "the application of a few epithets, as coward, etc." He further remarked amiably that as the letter had been written in the heat of passion he would keep it private and give the writer a chance to cool off. Jackson, however, made

public the correspondence. Six years later when the Tennessean came to the Senate, Scott apprised him that "I have been six days in your immediate vicinity without having attracted your notice" and advising him that as it was the first time he had been within a hundred miles of him, "I shall not leave the district before the morning of the 14th instant."

Jackson concluded to interpret the note as an olive branch and replied that whenever Scott might feel like meeting him on friendly terms, he would greet him in like spirit. They got on civilly thereafter.

As already stated President Jackson sent him to Charleston during the nullification troubles. Here he did more by his social graces than in a military sense in calming that exclusive community. The war with the Seminole Indians kept his hand in practice and he ended that long drawn out conflict in 1836-7. In 1839 the "Aroostook War" developed between Maine and the Province of New Brunswick over the border line between the two. Maine militia hurried to the excited spot and General Scott was commanded by President Van Buren to oversee events. Here again his urbanity smoothed out the situation, which Daniel Webster settled by diplomacy.

In 1841 he became head of the regular army. This brought him to Washington where he filled a large political and social place and was held in high esteem for his fine qualities as an officer and a gentleman. He was the epitome of both. But he was quick of temper, much given to reciting his intimacies with the great at home and abroad, a careless user of words and unconsidered criticism, that, added to his undoubted, if

harmless vanity, made him easily a source of laughter. To be laughed at is fatal to ambition for the presidency. In a military sense he was considered somewhat archaic also. Mrs. Jefferson Davis records that when her husband raised the Mississippi rifles for service in Mexico, he consulted Scott, under whom he had served while in the regular army. It was his desire to arm his men with Whitney rifles made in New Haven by the firm founded by Eli Whitney, inventor of the Cotton Gin, which made the staple king. Scott advised limiting the riflemen to four companies, pointing out that they would be a good ways from the factory, and the caps unreliable, while flints could be had anywhere. One of Scott's whimsies was to recommend the use of French words in giving orders. He laid this down in his "System of Tactics." General Gaines, who drawled in speech was once asked what he thought of it. "I think" he replied, "that a—the—a English language is a—sufficiently copious—to express—a—all the ideas that—a—General Scott will—a—ever have."

The political and military complexities of the Mexican War have been sufficiently described in the previous chapters. Scott found himself before Vera Cruz, amid a huddle of transports and a muddle of mix-ups. He made short work of the siege and soon his forces were on shore. Here most of the time the big general was not magnificent. He wore light, loose clothes and a wide-brimmed straw hat to ward off the heat of the climate, which, with other vexations made him testy. One of these was a feud with Commodore Mathew Calbraith Perry, who tried to negotiate with Santa Anna direct concerning sundry seamen who had been

taken prisoners in the assault on Vera Cruz. Perry sent Lieutenant Raphael Semmes on this mission. Scott would not let him proceed under his flag of truce to Mexico City, nor would Perry permit him to return to the squadron with his mission unfulfilled. Accordingly the lieutenant assuming the rôle of unofficial observer trailed the army to the capital, seeing much that was worth while and putting it all into a very entertaining volume. He was to be heard from again as the commander of the Confederate cruiser Alabama.

His forces landed, Scott did a good job under difficult conditions. He was in a foreign land, his troops were mainly raw, including the regulars whose ranks had been filled by newly arrived immigrants, and his support from Washington was far from reliable. Notwithstanding he fought his way from the sea to Mexico City, up a 7,000 foot grade and was always victorious. The capital was taken in a series of gallant actions. He entered the city in the full splendor of all his bullion trimmed uniform and feathered chapeau. No one can complain of his pomp. The army behind him was ragged and footsore, but exulted with him in the Halls of the Montezumas.

In bringing about peace Scott acted kindly and intelligently. Secretary of the Treasury, Robert J. Walker, evidently expected him to emulate the Spanish Conquistadores and send back ship-loads of silver. None came and he had to borrow to fill the government coffers.

There was plenty of glory for Scott and Taylor but none for James K. Polk. Scott had not played politics, but no sooner had he truimphed than General Gideon

THE GREAT WAR COMET OF 1861.

WINFIELD SCOTT, THE WAR HERO

A striking cartoon of the ranking General at the outbreak of the Civil War.
From *Vanity Fair,* August 3, 1861

J. Pillow, Polk's law partner sent letters to the New Orleans *Delta* belittling him. He was one of the political generals who had been a nuisance in the campaign and in his communications gave Generals Worth and Duncan all the credit. Scott issued orders to stop the writing, with the result that he was defied and put the three under arrest. He himself had been critical of his commander-in-chief, the President, and of William L. Marcy, Secretary of War, his superior. The accused officers were released from duress without trial and Scott was recalled. He left the army on April 22, 1848, greatly to the regret of the men who had fought under him and who bore their gallant leader great regard.

The Whig Convention met in Philadelphia on June 1, 1848. Taylor led from the start for the Presidential nomination with 111 votes, but Scott was not without friends. They polled him 43 votes and these increased to 49 on the second ballot. On the fourth his total reached 54, but Taylor gaining 171 was declared the candidate.

If the Whig Party or the Polk administration was not appreciative Congress was. It gave Scott a vote of thanks, a gold medal and the brevet of Lieutenant-General, a new rank in our army, which soon became almost too small to accommodate it. Located in Washington the General resumed his position as a commanding figure. The Kansas-Nebraska situation flamed up and the embers of Calhoun's policy began to glow. Scott felt that the country was "on the eve of a terrible civil war."

The campaign of 1852 was next at hand. How Scott

secured the Whig nomination has been told in the chapter preceding.

With both parties accepting the fugitive slave law and standing all fours on the Constitution the contest was sluggish and soon narrowed down to a contest between the professional and the amateur soldiers. There was much comparing of military records, to the disparagement of both. There was a "Maine law" temperance wave rolling over the land and Pierce's taste for good wines was expanded into making him a drunken sot. Scott's "hasty plate of soup" came up to plague him, supplemented by his use of a vulgar expression when appraised of his nomination by the committee, that indicated they had found him with his unmentionables detached from his suspenders. To the Whigs Scott was a hero and Pierce a coward. To the Democrats Scott was "Old Fuss and Feathers," a mountain of flesh and egotism. A flood of Irish immigrants had poured into the country following the famine of 1846. This had given a start to know-nothingism that was now strong. Scott, asked for his stand on the question of alien citizenship, hesitated "between extending the period of residence before naturalization and a total repeal of all acts of Congress on the subject," with a mental inclination toward the latter.

Naturally this did not help him with the foreign element, already numerous in the seacoast cities. The scurrilities were out of place. Both candidates were gentlemen, and so rated each other. It was hard however to restrain their following. Scott, of course outshone Pierce in the matter of military prestige. To begin with, he had been at it longer. The Whigs

harked back to Lundy's Lane in a prodigious effort to enthuse the uninterested, but that gallant event was nearly forty years old and made small appeal to a new generation. The Mexican War was nearer, but the names were hard to pronounce and there was not much to brag of after all in licking the "Greasers."

Scott's speeches were gems of indiscretion. Heckled by a voice with a Celtic twang in Cleveland he ejaculated: "I hear that rich brogue; I love to hear it. It makes me remember the noble deeds of Irishmen, many of whom I have led to battle and to victory." He might have added that he had shot and hanged not a few of them in Mexico. Many of the new arrivals at Castle Garden had been inveigled into enlisting and finding campaigning in the tropics uncomfortable, deserted freely, for which they could not be greatly blamed. Numerous Mexican families date from these changes in alliances. The Irish were not alone in this. There was a German inflow at the same time, upon which the army drew. The General informed a Teutonic delegation at Columbus, coming to seek favor, that he had hanged fifteen of their fellows in Mexico!

He "slopped over" right and left. He did not discuss issues, partly because there were none which either party cared to debate, and because the gruff old fellow lacked the finesse to deal with them. James Gordon Bennett, of the New York *Herald,* who was supporting Pierce, put fifty-two of Scott's speeches into a campaign sheet and labelled them: "The Modern Epic, Fifty-Two Speeches by Major-General Winfield Scott, embracing a narrative of a trip to the Blue Licks and back to Washington in search of a site for a military

hospital. The Illiad of the Nineteenth Century." The New York *Tribune* was the leading Whig organ. It could not swallow the acquiescence of the party with slavery nor follow the meanderings of Scott. It treated Pierce respectfully and did not warm up during the campaign. Bennett was immensely helpful to the Democrats. The Whigs carried but four states, Vermont, Kentucky, Massachusetts and Tennessee, giving Scott 42 electoral votes. Pierce captured all the other states and had 254, with a plurality of 220,896. The country had registered its endorsement of the compromise and its disapproval of anti-slavery agitation. It also disposed of fuss and feathers. Pierce had made no campaign, remaining in quiet dignity at his home in Concord. The Free-Soil vote was negligible. The country felt itself safe and in wise hands.

Why did the Whigs select Scott? Fillmore stood well with the country and Webster towered above him like a mountain over a mole-hill. Two soldiers, Harrison and Taylor, had given the party its two victories. It was only logical to expect success with a third, the most distinguished of them all. To the chastening of defeat was added the fact in the President he had over him a former subordinate, who added to this humiliation the further one of making Jefferson Davis Secretary of War. Davis was a West-Pointer and took over all the real duties of running the army, among other things sending light artillery to hunt Indians on the plains of Kansas and Nebraska, to the infinite disgust of Scott, who transferred his headquarters from Washington to New York and was only nominally in power for four years. Mrs. Davis pokes a bit

of fun at him in her memoir of her husband, in relating an incident that occurred at a dinner to which the Secretary had invited a very handsome young army captain named George B. McClellan to whom he had taken a great fancy, and over whom Scott at once "assumed a protectorate."

> General Totten, [she writes] and he (McClellan) were talking about trap-rock in an undertone while General Scott was explaining to the Comte de Sartige how to cook terrapin, 'mixing the wine with a judicious flavoring of spice, but no flour, sir—not a grain.' Captain McClellan had just then uttered the word 'trap!' General Scott set his fork rampant and called across the table, 'no, sir, I say, no! they are never caught in a trap!' General Totten explained in his debonair way that they were speaking of trap-rock, but the General gave us a disquisition on the proper manner of chasing buffalo upon the plains, and wound up with the announcement, 'I have never heard of their being caught in a trap, Sir.'

Davis resigned his post to become once more Senator from Mississippi and Congress made Scott full Lieutenant-General, January 15, 1855. From that time on he was a show figure in Washington society. The tense Kansas situation in 1856, growing as much out of the inaction of Congress as from any other reason, caused Senator J. J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, to insist that General Scott be sent to the perturbed territory, as one "who in such a contest carries the sword in his left hand and in his right peace, gentle peace." The Democrats in Congress did not care to use a man who had so recently been in the political field against them, so nothing came of the suggestion. When the October

elections indicated plainly the coming triumph of Lincoln and the Republicans in November, he wrote to President Buchanan on October 29, 1860, urging that the Federal forts, below Mason and Dixon's line, should be garrisoned at once, so strongly as to be proof against surprise. As he coupled this with very unwarlike suggestions favoring peaceful disunion, the President did not respond affirmatively, fearing rightly that a military move would start a war at his hands. He preferred to leave it to his successor.

Following the election with the choice of Mr. Lincoln, state after state seceded, the crisis fast took shape. Major Robert Anderson shifted his command from Fort Moultrie to the safer walls of Sumter, with the result that a committee was sent from Charleston to demand from the President its return to Moultrie. He received them as "private gentlemen" and seemingly yielded: J. S. Black, Joseph Holt and Edwin M. Stanton, who had joined the cabinet, stiffened his back so that he finally refused in firm terms, to issue the order. Scott supported this stand, pleaded again for the sending of reinforcements and asked permission to do so. This was assented to and he prepared to embark two hundred men from Fortress Monroe on board the *Brooklyn,* Captain David G. Farragut, who was pretty certain to deliver them. He had been in Charleston with Scott in the nullification experience. The ship did not start. Mr. Buchanan asked Scott to delay until he heard from the commissioners, as a matter of politeness. To this the General assented. The reply arrived January 2, 1861, couched in such terms that Mr. Buchanan refused to receive it. "It is now all over," he

remarked to Holt, "and reinforcements must be sent." Here, however, he failed again. Some doubt as to whether the *Brooklyn* could cross the Charleston bar, caused the substitution of an unarmed transport, the *Star of the West,* for the warship, with Captain John McGovern, instead of Farragut. A few shots from a battery on Morris Island and Fort Moultrie sent him back North and mightily increased Charleston's contumacy.

The die was now cast. Scott became active as adviser to Buchanan but could not gain from him the power to reinforce the forts. Senator Preston King, of New York, writing to John Bigelow, January 26, 1861, thought Scott could protect the capital. He and Holt were working together and the General expected to have one thousand regulars on hand to guard against eventualities. Salmon P. Chase, arriving at Washington from Ohio to become Mr. Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury found only one man "Who seemed to me to deserve to be called distinguished. That man was General Scott."

March 3, 1861, the day before Lincoln's inauguration, General Scott wrote "in haste" as usual, a letter to his former Whig associate William H. Seward, slated to be Secretary of State on "the highly disorganized condition of our (so late) happy and glorious Union." It contained four points designed to save the country. The first suggested that the Republican party "throw off its old and assume a new designation—the Union party," and accept the pending Crittenden compromise. Unless this were done, the remaining slave states were certain to secede and Washington, "being

included in a foreign country, would require a permanent garrison of at least 35,000 men to protect the government within it." The second idea was to avoid a clash by collecting duties "outside the ports of which the government has lost the command or close such ports by Act of Congress and blockade them." The third: "Conquer the seceding states by invading armies." This he thought could be done in two or three years by "a young and able general—a Wolfe, a Desaix, or a Hoche—with 300,000 disciplined men." To great loss of life and property he saw added a debt of $250,000,000 and "fifteen devastated provinces," not to be brought into harmony with their conquerors," but to be "held for generations by heavy garrisons, at an expense quadruple the net duties or taxes which it would be possible to extract from them, followed by a protector or an emperor." The fourth idea probably represented his real feeling: "Say to the seceded states—'wayward sisters, depart in peace.' "

In this last he was far from alone. Horace Greeley and many others agreed with him. Virginia was not yet out. Thurlow Weed was of opinion that Scott would not be very willing to coerce his native state. He did on March 12th, advise the new President to evacuate Sumter, as something "almost inevitable" rightly sensing that it could not stand a long siege. Lincoln sent two personal friends, Congressmen S. A. Hurlbert, of Illinois, and Ward H. Lamon to Charleston to feel out the situation and report back; also Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Gustavus V. Fox, to survey the fortifications and see if they could be successfully succored by a relief expedition. Hurlbert and Lamon

saw no hope of conciliation and Fox was sure warships could get by. Events led to the firing on Sumter before this could be tested out.

Scott was now much in the public eye of the North. It hailed him as the great warrior who would sweep the rebellion off the face of the landscape with a few waves of his sword. *Vanity Fair,* the New York comic paper, edited by Charles Godfrey Leland, printed one cartoon picturing him astride an eagle scattering the Confederacy, and another as an all-terrifying comet with a glittering tail of bayonets. The disaster at Bull Run showed the South was not scared so easily. Scott was opposed to the encounter, but it was forced by clamor. Blame was allowed to fall mainly on Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, who deserved much of it.

Scott knew the task lay beyond his powers. He was seventy-five and had worn the harness for fifty-three years. So on October 31, 1861, he laid down his sword.

> For more than three years, [he wrote Cameron in resigning,] I have been unable from a hurt to mount a horse, or walk more than a few paces at a time, and that with much pain. Other and new infirmities—dropsy and vertigo, admonish me that repose of mind and body, with the appliances of surgery and medicine, are necessary to add a little more to a life already much protracted beyond the usual span of man. It is under such circumstances—made doubly painful by the unnatural and unjust rebellion now raging in the Southern states of our (so late) prosperous and happy Union—that I am compelled to request that my name be placed on the list of army officers retired from active service.

His letter was laid before a special cabinet meeting

the same day, where with a sense of gratitude for past services and relief in the crisis, it was decided to place him on the retired list with the full pay of his rank. The cabinet proceeded in a body to General Scott's residence and there with many expressions of good will and affection, advised him of their action. Deeply moved the fine old man made an address full of fervor and patriotism. The next day, November 1, 1861, Mr. Lincoln issued the order for his retirement. "The American people" he added to the formal words, "will hear with sadness and deep emotion that General Scott has withdrawn from active control of the army, while the President and unanimous Cabinet express their own and the nation's sympathy in his personal affliction, and their profound sense of the important public services rendered by him to his country during his long and brilliant career, among which will ever be gratefully distinguished his faithful devotion to the Constitution, the Union and the flag when assailed by parracidal rebellion."

On the same day Mr. Lincoln made Major-General George B. McClellan Commander-in-Chief. He had been impatient with Scott and was now to be given an opportunity to show his mettle, with results that will be told later. Scott at once went to Europe, where he located in Paris. Here he encountered the probabilities of a war with England growing out of the taking of Messrs. Mason and Slidell off the British Steamer Trent. John Bigelow, then in charge of our affairs in France, thought the old gentlemen, who stood well abroad, could be used to advantage in putting out a conciliatory letter. Thurlow Weed was in Paris at the

time and undertook to prepare the General's mind for the move. Bigelow wrote the note, which Scott promptly signed. It was given out as to a friend, who was presumably disturbed, and assured him that England had no grounds for concern "if, as her rulers profess, she has no disposition to encourage dissensions in America." He gave extended reasons to show "that an event so mutually disastrous as a war between England and America cannot occur without other and graver provocation than has been given either nation." This soothing note found echo in the views of Albert, Prince Consort, and nothing happened beyond much correspondence though the mischievous Lord Palmerston wrote Queen Victoria that Scott was on a diplomatic mission to persuade France to join America against England, and quoted him as saying that the seizing of the envoys was ordered at a meeting of Lincoln's cabinet at which he, Scott, was present. There of course was not a vestige of truth in it.

So far as Scott was concerned he figured no more beyond writing his autobiography. It showed a proper appreciation of the merits of its subject, and roused criticism by its egotism and frank conceit. He was proud of himself and with just cause, but was not content to let others say it. The General lived to see the triumph of Union arms, dying at West Point, May 29, 1866.

VIII

JOHN CHARLES FRÉMONT

A PATHFINDER WHO LOST HIS WAY

NO more romantic figure looms in America than John Charles Frémont, and no American did more for his country, or received less in return. Son of another John Charles Frémont, who saw the light in Lyons, France, and Anna Whiting, divorced wife of Major John Pryor of Virginia, he was born in Savannah, Georgia, January 2, 1813. The father and mother had been on a nomadic tour through the South, camping out much on their way. Perhaps this bred a pre-natal influence on his after life. During a stop in Nashville, Tennessee, at the City Hotel, September 4, 1813, the couple were disturbed by a shower of pistol bullets that smashed through the walls of their room. These came from weapons set in play by Andrew Jackson, Jesse and Thomas H. Benton, who were striving to settle a difference out in the hall. Thomas H. Benton was to come largely into the then baby Fremont's life.

The senior Fremont wished to return to France, but died in 1818, with his desire unfulfilled. His widow settled in Charleston, S. C. Here, as a small boy, Fremont was apprenticed to law in John W. Mitchell's office. His beauty of person, and many graces, interested

the attorney, who caused him to be sent to a private school conducted by Dr. John Robertson. This Scotch instructor fitted boys for Charleston college, which Fremont entered in due season. College did not appeal to him. His hot young blood preferred outdoors, and his good looks made him a favorite with young ladies. The two passions spoiled him as a student, and he was expelled when seventeen for inattention and insubordination, as the record states. Insubordination was to plague him much in after life.

The brightness of his intellect, and his charm of manner, kept him in friends. One of these was Joel R. Poinsett, a very remarkable man, who occupied a considerable place in the affairs of the day. Poinsett's influence procured the fiery youth a position as instructor in mathematics on the *Natchez* sloop of war. He was twenty when the ship sailed for the South American station, and remained away three years. Passing an examination, he secured the rating of professor of mathematics. There was no naval academy then, and would-be admirals were educated at the navy yards. He declined a post at Norfolk, and became a civil engineer, as railway building was beginning to engross the attention of the enterprising. Among other things he assisted in surveying the lands taken from the Cherokees in their shift to the Indian Territory. Poinsett, now Secretary of War, had him appointed as second lieutenant in the topographical corps. He was sent, with Jean Francis Nicollet, to spy out the Northwest. Two years were spent at this work.

Returning to Washington, richly laden with material to be worked up in maps and reports, Fremont fell

in with the family of Senator Benton, who had shared in the fusillade at Nashville that disturbed his infantile sleep, and made the acquaintance of a charming daughter, Jessie Benton. Love at first sight was the result. They were kept apart by parental disapproval, but managed to elope on October 17, 1841. The bride was then seventeen, the groom twenty-eight. They never repented at leisure, but lived happily ever after, the wife being a master influence in his life.

Nicollet had planned a new expedition to the farthest West, via the South Pass, at the headwaters of the river Platte. Fremont was to be second in command. Ill health caused Nicollet to relinquish the plan, and it was abandoned. The Oregon question having arisen, Fremont pressed for the privilege of carrying the flag to the Columbia. Finally, the attempt was authorized, and on May 2, 1842, he started on the essay. Twenty-one men took part in the adventure, the most famous and useful of whom was Kit Carson, the scout. The party crossed Missouri, Kansas and Nebraska, then barely outlined, and pushed on to the Rockies.

Here they fell in with James Bridger and a party of Oregon emigrants in hard luck. They were on the well defined Oregon trail. Fremont could have followed this with little addition to knowledge, but turned to the South Pass and the unknown beyond. June 21, 1842, the party left Fort Laramie and continued until it reached the crest of the Wind River range, on a mountain to which he gave his name, thinking he had attained the highest altitude, though he had not. Satis-

fied with this exploit, the expedition now made its way back to civilization.

In the spring of 1843, Fremont resumed his activities, starting from Kansas City on May 29th. He added a 12-pound cannon to his equipment, word of which reaching Washington, led to his recall, but his wife, learning of it, sent word for him to depart quickly, which he did, cannon and all, before the command caught him. The powers knew he had a sense of adventure, and feared he might undertake a conquest of Mexican domains, without other authority than his own—as he afterwards did in California.

Fortunate, indeed, for the future of his country, Fremont at once obeyed his wife's advice, and asked no questions. The results of his enterprise were so remarkable that, when he returned, the world rang with his repute, and a great dominion was laid open to the nation. He had found his way to the source of the Colorado, the Green River valley, and the Great Salt Lake of Utah, where the Mormons were soon to follow. Thence he discovered a path to the Columbia. Turning back, the return was more venturesome than the advance. The march led into the Mexican territory of California via the Sacramento valley, where Fremont fell in with John A. Sutter's fort, which was to become soon a center of world interest through the discovery of gold. This invasion of California was entirely unauthorized. Mexico forbade the incoming of all Americans. A caravan, with a 12-pounder, would hardly have been welcomed, but the gun had to be abandoned in the snow of the Sierra Nevada, and they

came to Sutter's fort starving. The course out of California lay by Las Vegas, Nevada, then Mexican soil, whence it followed the so-called Spanish trail. So the bold explorers came again to Utah, and then to Bent's Fort on the Arkansas, and crossed the prairies home. Fourteen months of hardship had been endured without loss of life, or a single day's sickness on the part of any man.

The success of this expedition led to Fremont's promotion by brevet to a captaincy. He handed in his report to the Secretary of War on March 1, 1845. The incident of the howitzer was overlooked, and his fame filled the country. James K. Polk had just become President. Mexico had resented the acquisition of Texas, which, though it had been established as a republic, she had continued to regard as her possession. There existed an excuse for war, Texas having claimed the Rio Grande as the true border, while Mexico stood on the Neuces. Warning had already come from the Government that any advance beyond that river meant conflict. Her troops were mobilized to protest any further invasion.

California, cut off from Mexico, meant much to the United States. The Oregon line dispute was not cold, and it was easily imagined that England might take this fat slice of the Pacific coast.

Fremont's knowledge, and the success of his explorations, made it only natural that he should become a factor in this emergency. Senator Benton's influence in the councils of the Administration was large. The "eventualities of war were considered," Fremont states, in his account of the affair, and "if not inter-

cepted by us, an English fleet would certainly take possession of San Francisco Bay."

The "eventualities" caused him to be furnished with a much larger force than those which had accompanied previous expeditions. It was well armed and otherwise equipped by a liberal appropriation, and proceeded West in the summer of 1845, reaching Bent's Fort on the Arkansas, on August 2nd. Another topographical engineer, Lieutenant J. W. Abert, was detailed to examine the Southwest, preparing the way for the acquisition of Arizona and New Mexico. This left Fremont sixty men, including some Delaware Indians. They moved into Colorado to the Royal Gorge, and on up in the mountains to the head of White River. Humbolt, Nevada, was the next point gained. Here he split his party, to explore on separate lines and meet at Walker Lake. This they reached in November. They next worked across the Sierras, following a path made some time before by the unfortunate Donner party, coming into touch with a branch of the Bear River that leads into the Sacramento valley.

Turning south from the rough emigrant road on December 6th, they reached the north fork of the American River, and a few days later were again at Sutter's fort, where Fremont learned that his previous visit had caused "some excitement among the Mexican authorities." His second coming was destined to cause a great deal more. "New Helvetia" was the name of Sutter's domain. He was a Swiss, and had been a captain under the great Napoleon. Because his request for supplies was not complied with—only through lack of them—Fremont thought it an echo of

the hostility he had a right to expect, and rode on to Monterey with Kit Carson. Here the United States had a Consul, Thomas O. Larkin, to whom he communicated his arrival, and returned to the main body in time to beat off one hundred Indians who had attacked it at the headwaters of the Mariposa. One of the braves was killed. The next day another red man was slain—wantonly, it would appear. Fremont explored what was to become his rich and troublesome "Mariposa Grant." The other party had not joined at Walker Lake, and so all returned to Sutter's, expecting to find them there. They had not come. Fremont once more journeyed to Monterey, stopping en route at Yerba Buena, now San Francisco. He reached Monterey on January 26, 1846, and proceeded to make official visits. As commander of an armed force he was hardly welcome. The governor, Pio Pico, was not at home. He met the alcalde, the prefect and the military commander, and asked permission to spend the winter in the country. This, the general, Don Jose Castro, granted. The others now came in, giving Fremont sixty-two well armed and mounted men. An old ranch near Mt. Hamilton, where the Lick Observatory now stands, was fixed up for quarters, and from it exploring parties were sent out.

A considerable number of American adventurers were already in the country, and there had been civil strife before. Now the presence of Fremont and his band roused a new desire to acquire control. Governor Pico had already been warned to allow no more gringos in the country, and there was a strong impulse

to expel those already there, which naturally stiffened the desire for revolt.

On March 8, 1846, Fremont was served with peremptory orders to depart. He was there with an armed force, without any sort of permit from the Mexican government, and his departure was in order. Instead of going, he shifted his ground to Gavilan Peak, where he erected a stockade and defied the ukase. A troop of Mexican cavalry appearing, he laid an ambuscade for them, which they, luckily for themselves, unconsciously evaded. Castro was massing troops, and Fremont's company moved to the Touloumne River and thence to Mount Shasta, "exploring" as they went. Swinging about, they kept moving in the region of Sacramento, keeping within easy stage of Yerba Buena.

The first clash with Mexico on the Rio Grande occurred April 24, 1846. Of course Fremont did not know this, but he was obviously expecting it to happen. They were attacked by Klamath Indians. Basil Lejuenesse, his favorite guide, was killed. Denny, a half-breed, and Crane, a Delaware, also lost their lives. May 11th, they retaliated on the Klamaths, and the Delawares took a couple of scalps. The Klamath village was burned. There was more fighting, but Fremont regained Sacramento, and now changed from explorer to conqueror.

April 30, 1846, Consul Larkin had been advised that the American residents must prepare to face expulsion, and soon further instructions came that they were to be driven out. Washington had not overlooked this contingency, and Commodore J. D. Sloat, com-

manding the Pacific squadron, had been told to meet any hostile act by hoisting the American flag and seizing the harbors, especially the very good one at Yerba Buena. Fremont had no orders. Sutter sent him word that the Mexicans were raising the Indians, and the settlers rallied to him for defense. A stronghold was built on the Buttes of Sacramento, to which many came, prepared for fighting. This Fremont gratified by sending a force to "disperse" the Indians, who had done nothing. Some of them were killed, and the rest satisfactorily scattered.

The U. S. S. *Portsmouth* had appeared on the scene, and Fremont was soon in touch with the commander. So far there had been no clash with the Mexicans, but. Ezekiel Merritt, an American settler, held up an officer with a caravan of horses and took the animals, sending the lieutenant back to Castro with an insulting message. Emboldened by this, Merritt's men now captured Sonoma and took General Vallejo, a rich and agreeable Mexican, prisoner, who, with his brother, secretary and interpreter, were taken in duress to Fremont's camp. This was June 14, 1846. On the same day the adventurers organized "The Republic of California," and hoisted the celebrated "Bear" flag, made from Miss Annie Frisbie's white petticoat, for which they paid a dollar. A big star, and the rude figure of a grizzly, were daubed on it with lampblack.

Sonoma was garrisoned by eighteen men under William B. Ide, who issued a declaration of independence. The Mexicans retaliated by ambushing and killing two young Americans named Cowie and Fowler. The Bear flag followers avenged their deaths by killing eight

Photograph by Brown Brothers

JOHN C. FREMONT

Mexicans and rescuing a number of prisoners. Three messengers were shot out of their saddles by Kit Carson and the Delawares. This was Fremont's first hand in the bloody game. He had sent his resignation in blank to Benton, to be used to exculpate the government if it disapproved of any of his acts. He also mistreated Sutter, who had been his friend and benefactor, telling him he was "a Mexican" and would be treated as such, greatly to the good captain's distress. Indeed, he shed tears.

Going thence to Sonoma Fremont was joined by the Bear party and began a formal "conquest" of California, "cooperating with the U. S. Navy," as he put it, though the navy does not seem to have been aware of the fact, nor did Fremont yet know war had broken out on the Rio Grande. Sutter's fort was taken from him, and one man in the company, Risdon Moore, who ventured to object to the proceedings, was locked up over night. This gave him a chance to reflect, and so improved his loyalty, that it never again came into question. General Castro did not know either that the two countries were at war, and on June 17, 1846, called for a united front to oppose the invaders, but reconsidered expelling foreigners so long as they behaved themselves.

Fremont, in connection with the Bear party leaders, now organized three companies of soldiers, but did not assert any authority on behalf of the United States. He only insisted that all things be done regularly. Lieut. C. W. Gillespie, U. S. M. C., from the *Portsmouth,* co-operated with Fremont. He had come direct from Washington and presumably knew what Presi-

dent Polk wanted. Commander Montgomery of the *Portsmouth,* had supplied Fremont with powder for "scientific purposes," but would give none to the Bear party.

Commodore Sloat, at Monterey, had heard from the Rio Grande on May 17, but did not follow his instructions. Two years before Commodore Brown had acted prematurely and had been reprimanded. So Sloat took no chances. He acted conservatively until July 7, 1846. On that day he took over the Custom House and annexed California to the U. S. A. Two days later he seized Yerba Buena and Sonoma, hauling down the Bear flag forever. On the 11th, to Sutter's relief, the Stars and Stripes flew over his fort. He fired the cannon in his joy. Sloat now summoned Fremont to Monterey, where the British *Collingwood* had just arrived. One of her lieutenants, Walpole, has given this description of the Pathfinder's arrival:

"Fremont rode ahead, a spare, active looking man, with such an eye! He was dressed in flounce and leggings and wore a felt hat. After him came five Delaware Indians who were his bodyguard. The rest of them, many blacker than the Indians, rode two and two, the rifle held by one hand across the pommel of the saddle."

Sloat was much disturbed to find that Fremont had no orders from Washington and was acting independently. He took no further steps. The *Congress* now came in with Commodore Robert F. Stockton, who was to supersede Sloat. He took charge of all affairs, including Fremont, who rather felt indisposed to sub-

mit as an army officer, but did, though it was to cost him his commission.

Stockton summoned Castro to surrender. He naturally declined. Sloat started for home. Stockton appointed his chaplain, the Rev. Walter Colton, a vigorous personality, Alcalde of Monterey, and began a move to clear Southern California. The North was all in American hands. Fremont marched on Los Angeles by land, and Stockton proceeded to San Diego by sea. Soon all was over. Fremont was made military governor and Gillespie, commander of the Southern district. The conquest was complete. Kit Carson was sent to Washington to advise the Government of the result.

Meanwhile the War Department was sending Gen. Stephen W. Kearny across the plains to conquer California and the adjacent territory, en route. He reached Warner's ranch on December 2, 1846, with a worn-out, starving force and sent a courier to Stockton for aid. Gillespie marched at once with food and men. He was waylaid by Mexicans, and Kearny came to his support. In a sharp skirmish, eighteen Americans lost their lives, including two captains. Of the officers, Moore, Johnston, Kearny, Gillespie and seventeen others were wounded. Carson, en route to Washington, was hurried back to Stockton for more support. This Stockton resented, and it led to the subsequent unpleasant feud between the commodore and Kearny, in which Fremont took the navy end and much disparaged Kearny. Stockton, however, sent two hundred sailors and marines to bring in the exhausted soldiers. This they did.

Kearny took up his headquarters at San Diego and claimed the government of the country under his instructions. To this Stockton would not accede. In October, word reached Fremont of his appointment, through the efforts of his wife, as a lieutenant-colonel of a rifle regiment in the regular line. He became active in hunting down Indians and irregulars who opposed American domination, operating with what became known as the California Battalion, having no assignment to command accompanying his position. This body, armed and accoutred more like hunters than soldiers, roamed the State in a romantic campaign, enduring much hardship and taking part in numerous affrays. Stockton and Kearny cooperated in an advance against Los Angeles, from which town they dislodged the Mexicans. January 13, 1847, Governor Pico formally surrendered the forces of his country to Freemont, and with it, the undisputed control of California. This was known as the Treaty of Couenga. Fremont then marched to Los Angeles, reporting first to Stockton and then to Kearny. Both of these gentlemen claimed to have orders to conquer and govern California. Each proceeded to act independently of the other, thus, when on January 16, 1847, though an officer of the army, Fremont declined to obey Kearny, a brigadier-general, and cancel some orders from Stockton, Kearny advised him to reconsider and recall his letter of refusal. This Fremont would not do, and the deadlock stood. For fifty days Fremont's authority as governor was recognized by all but Kearny. Hearing news of a rising, he rode a hundred miles without rest to warn Kearny, who was not grateful,

but having the governor in his hands gave him the hour in which to obey his commands. He agreed to mind. The "insurrection" faded out. One outcome was a challenge to fight a duel with Col. Mason, Kearny's aide. This the general forbade, and nothing came of it but further ill feeling. The one hundred mile ride was regarded as a feat of show-off.

Orders now came, turning California over to Kearny. Fremont then expressed a desire to leave and return in his own fashion. This request was denied and he was ordered to accompany Kearny, who had been summoned East. He kept himself and his men apart, but followed the same trail. Reaching Fort Leavenworth on August 22, 1847, Fremont was ordered to consider himself under arrest and to "repair to Washington city." This he proceeded to do. At St. Louis he was acclaimed a hero and offered a public banquet, which he refused. He arrived at Washington on September 16th, to learn that his mother was seriously ill at Aiken, S. C. He hastened South, but was several hours too late to see her alive.

Charleston gave him an ovation, a sword and a gold mounted belt. He was the hero of the hour. Desiring a prompt hearing, he demanded an early trial and was put on the carpet November 2, 1847, in Washington. The charges were serious:

1. Mutiny.
2. Disobedience of orders.
3. Conduct prejudicial to discipline.

Fremont's defense was that the California performance had been a comedy of errors, growing out of faulty orders, and Kearny's pretensions. The court-

martial failed to take this view. He was found guilty on all charges and sentenced to dismissal from the army! President Polk struck out the count on mutiny, but approved of the two other findings; then, in view of Fremont's great services, remitted the sentence of dismissal. He was instructed to resume his sword and report for duty. Smarting under an undue sense of right, Fremont declined to report and sent in his resignation. Its acceptance was delayed until March 15, 1848. That he had fallen between two millstones seems to have been his chief fault. That he was instinctively insubordinate is also beyond question. The army was no place for him. Beside, he was only thirty-two, and had been fed up on adulation.

Freed thus dishonorably from the military thrall, Fremont began to look about for himself. In the interim the Mormon, James Wilson Marshall, found gold on January 24, 1848, at Sutter's mill, while enlarging the race, and the eyes of the world turned toward what now proved to be a land of gold. Proceeding to St. Louis, Fremont began preparations for a fourth expedition, using his own means, and those of admirers to equip it. Mrs. Fremont, in the meantime, journeyed to San Francisco via Panama, the enterprising steamship companies having begun to transport the tide of gold seekers by that unhealthy route. Fremont made his way along the Kansas river to Bent's Fort, which he reached on November 17, 1848. Thence he proposed to pass the mountains, though informed that the snow lay deeper than usual. He had crossed before in winter and declined to be dismayed. Carson was not with him, and his men were bold, but not ex-

perienced, as had been some of the others. Pueblo was made the starting point over the Rockies. From there on they floundered in deep drifts and braved blizzards. Many were frostbitten, and some of the animals froze to death. Food gave out and men began to die. Twelve succumbed and cannibalism was seriously considered as a means of saving the remaining lives. Fremont himself pressed forward with a few of the strongest and on January 25, 1849, succeeded in getting some succor to the sufferers in the snow. He then drew them together and crept down to the Pueblo of Taos, where Kit Carson welcomed the poor wretches and restored them to life with food and warmth.

Fremont blamed "Bill" Williams, a guide taken on at Pueblo, for the disaster, but it would plainly appear that the fault was due to his own vainglory. The Mexican War ended with the Treaty of Guadeloupe-Hidalgo, May 30, 1850. Senator Benton's dream of "manifest destiny" had come true, much of it at the hands of his son-in-law. The United States ruled the continent from sea to sea!

When recuperated, Fremont proceeded to California by the Southern route. His wife awaited him in San Francisco, and they set up here a California home. He had bought, before his previous return East, the Mexican rights in a great grant of land called the Mariposa estate, before the discovery of gold. This he now proceeded to develop. He paid the owner's price, subject to confirmation by the new Government. The presence of gold gave it a fabulous value, and led to difficulties. He had to face constant efforts to break

his ownership, to fight claim jumpers and to straighten out mistakes he had himself made in marketing mining rights. Though he got much money out of the property it did him little good.

The fame acquired by Fremont as an explorer and the "conqueror" of California led to political prominence. The land of gold was admitted to Statehood on September 8, 1850. Fremont and W. M. Gwin appeared in Washington as its Senators. He unluckily drew the short term, which lasted but a year. He was defeated for re-election in 1851. After 144 ballots had failed to select anyone, the election went over for a year. Fremont was not again a candidate, but devoted himself to the development of his Mariposa estate, accumulating thereby, troubles that were to follow him through life. He sold some gold claims through an agent, David Hoffman, in London, and later, with Thomas Denny Sargent, engineered a large transaction involving the entire property for $1,000,000. Sargent also began to unload in London at a huge advance, and the claims conflicting, Fremont's name became soiled. The refusal of the Government to authenticate his rights added to the confusion.

Visiting London in 1852, Fremont was arrested for fraud and kept in jail overnight. George Peabody, the philanthropist, bailed him out. The case grew out of unpaid drafts drawn on the State Department for supplies in 1847, which were not paid for lack of funds, and the paper had fallen into British hands, which took this way to collect. The matter was somehow settled, but remains a smudge on the acquisition of California. After a visit to Paris, he returned to

Washington, and organized his last and most unfortunate expedition. This was without Government support, Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War, frowning on Fremont, who had stood for non-slavery in California. Davis sent Capt. J. W. Gunnison out under Government auspices. He was killed in Utah, whether by Indians, or at Mormon instance, was never really known.

Fremont's party suffered severely. One man lost his life and the others were nearly frozen to death in the mountain snows. Food gave out and mules had to be eaten. Finally, on February 8, 1854, they straggled into the Mormon town of Parowan, where the kind settlers nursed them back to health. S. N. Carvalho, the photographer, father of S. S. Carvalho, well known as a journalist in New York, made his way to Salt Lake City and by painting pictures of Brigham Young's wives, procured money enough to get back to Baltimore, whence he came. Fremont returned to San Francisco, where he was royally welcomed.

Coming East with his family in 1855, Fremont planned a history of his travels. George W. Childs, later publisher of the Philadelphia *Ledger,* contracted to print the work. It was never written, politics interrupting authorship.

The newly contrived Republican party, constructed by Free Staters and Know-Nothings from the wreck of the Whigs, was proposing to make its entrance into national politics. The Kansas dispute was on and Fremont, invited to speak in New York, wrote in declining, a keynote inflexibly opposing the extension of slavery. The Republican party, in convention at Philadelphia on June 17, 18 and 19, 1856, selected him as

its candidate for President, after the American custom of drafting signboards instead of statesmen. William L. Dayton of New Jersey, was the tail of the ticket.

One of the novelties of the campaign was the refusal of Thomas H. Benton to support his son-in-law. He stood sturdily for James Buchanan. He, himself, ran for governor of Missouri on the Democratic ticket. The Democrats had also to oppose Millard Fillmore, the former President, named by the fading Whigs. The campaign was prosecuted with great vigor, but Buchanan won and postponed secession for four years. Fremont received 1,341,264 votes, with 114 electors, to 1,927,995 for Buchanan, who had 124 electors. Fillmore polled 934,816 votes, but gained only 8 electors. Fremont was still young—but forty-three.

Fremont had sought, by filing new claims, to straighten out the Mariposa grant. These were disapproved by Caleb Cushing, Attorney General of the United States. Carried to court, they were confirmed in time to afford some balm for his defeat. Claim jumpers had to be ousted and in the clean-up, some were killed. Not until 1859 did he get all his titles cleared. The yield from the mines rose to $100,000 a month. The estate was a great treasure trove, though little of its value remained long in its owner's hands.

Lincoln's election in 1860 set the signals for war. In the spring of 1861, Mariposa matters took Fremont to London. When Sumter was fired upon in April, he was designated to buy supplies abroad. This service was brief. Returning in July, he was appointed major-general and given command of the Department

of Missouri. It will be recalled that his rank on leaving the regular army was that of lieutenant-colonel. He had, however, enjoyed no military experience, unless the brief campaign in California, which resulted in his downfall, can be called such. The great promotion was therefore purely political, and unfortunate in its consequences.

Fremont's first step was to declare martial law. This, many leaders on his own side regarded as unwise, Frank P. Blair, in particular, proving the most critical. Blair was a member of Congress and, located in Washington, busied himself to destroy Fremont. It is now plain that, however bombastical the general may have been in his proclamations, and military in his overbearing, he sensed the true situation more truly than Blair. He did not blunder in much that he undertook. But an agreement as to non-combatants with Stirling Price was regarded as beyond his province, while the great outcry came when, on August 30, 1861, he moved to free the slaves in his territory, proclaiming as follows:

> The property, real and personal, of all persons in the State of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken an active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use, and their slaves, if they have any, are hereby declared freemen.

This was going too fast for President Lincoln who requested a modification of the proclamation that would not raise the slavery question. Fremont declining to do it, the President reversed the order. Fremont

could not see how a confiscated piece of human property could be consistently kept in bondage. He was accordingly removed from his command on charges of incompetency, which no one took the trouble to prove. He had lasted exactly one hundred days—the fatal Napoleonic period. The relief came on October 24, 1862. This, of course, brought an end to whatever plans he might have had, the chief of which was a descent to New Orleans by gradual steps, clearing the country as he went. This program was warmly endorsed by Horace Greeley.

Greeley believed in Fremont. Writing to Congressman (later Vice-President) Schuyler Colfax, he said: "I want to say to the President (Lincoln) that I ardently hope he may give Fremont a chance. Let him take Schofield's and Blunt's forces and clean out Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas of Rebellion and slavery. Give him 30,000 men, well-equipped, and he will take those three States by March. That will cut off the Rebel supply of beef and conscripts."

This was never tried. Fremont's foes were too powerful. They had no notion of letting him grow to Presidential size again. His vanity gave them the chance to completely extinguish him. He had surrounded himself with a gorgeously clad staff, and built up a large military establishment. "Putting on airs" seems to have been his chief offense. This is something no true American can stand. His chapeau was rather overloaded with plumes, and his head correspondingly enlarged. There was no free and easy entrance to his presence, and the formalities gave great offense.

The anti-slavery element made such a row, endors-

ing his emancipation action, that he was given a command in the Shenandoah Valley, where he had Stonewall Jackson to contend with. Here he was afforded the rather inferior assistance of Carl Schurz; his troops were bad and wretchedly equipped. Indeed, there was no honest attempt to give him a fair show. Then, to crown all, John Pope was set over him as commander of the Army of Virginia. He was a junior and a disagreeable person to boot. Fremont asked to be relieved, and the war saw no more of him.

From this time on, Fremont's career was a fading one. The Mariposa estate, now incorporated, renewed its troubles. Required to pay $300,000 in gold to redeem control, Fremont could not raise the $800,000 currency required to make good. On top of all, the Government confiscated ten acres of valuable land at Black Point, San Francisco Bay, for fortification purposes, and never paid for it. June 24, 1864, he resigned from the army. A convention at Cleveland nominated him for President to run against Lincoln, but he withdrew, the President paying for it with the scalp of Postmaster General Montgomery Blair. When the war closed he sought employment at railroad promoting, becoming president of a projected Memphis, El Paso and Pacific railway.

He then established a home on the Hudson, near Tarrytown. One son, Francis, went to West Point, and another, John Charles, to the Naval Academy. The railway ventures failed, and the Tarrytown home was lost in the wreck. The Fremonts went abroad. He was prosecuted for fraud in connection with unpaid railroad bonds in Paris, fined and sentenced to a term in

prison. This he escaped by quitting the country in time. Pitying his misfortunes, President Rutherford B. Hayes, in 1878, appointed him governor of Arizona. At the end of his term the weary Pathfinder came back to the East and undertook the long delayed memoirs promised George W. Childs. Only one volume was completed. Residing briefly at Point Pleasant, New Jersey, he was taken with pneumonia, in 1887, and made a poor recovery. His physician urged his return to California, and in December he was removed to Los Angeles.

Times continued hard with him until April, 1890. Congress then placed him on the retired list as a major-general. He did not have long to enjoy the relief, dying in New York, July 13, 1890, having lived seventy-seven years. He lies at rest in Rockland Cemetery, Piermont-on-the-Hudson, in a lot donated to boom that enterprise, under a monument built by the State of New York. He could find paths for others, but none for himself.

IX

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

THE "LITTLE GIANT" OF ILLINOIS

THE late Albert J. Beveridge, former Senator from Indiana, while preparing to write his life of Abraham Lincoln remarked to the author that the more he read up on Lincoln the higher his opinion became of Stephen A. Douglas. This has been my own experience.

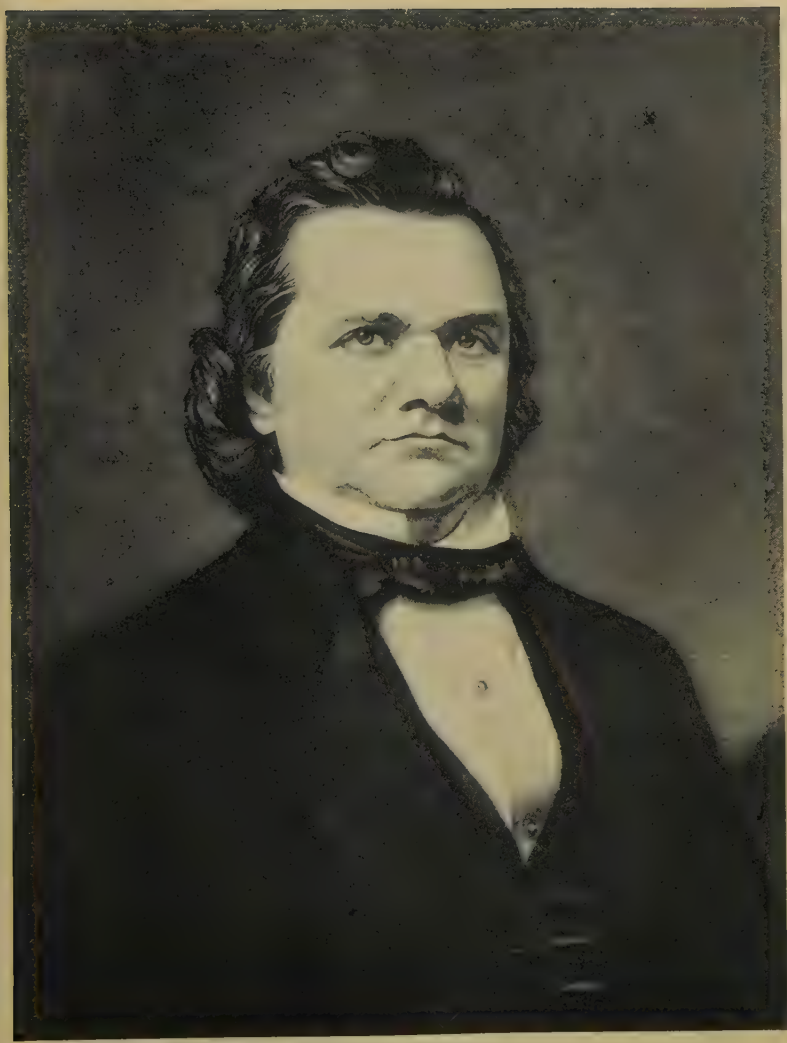
It must be remembered in justice that Douglas' idea was definite, workable and Democratic, while Lincoln and his party had no plan for dealing with slavery beyond preventing its expansion. Lincoln deplored slavery. His party gained its strength from those who opposed its extension, and desired its abolition, but the platform of 1860 contains no word of comfort for the slave.

The compromise of 1850 stopped the progress of the institution into new territory. Its repeal in 1854 brought the question to the front again. Douglas thought in leaving it open to the people of the West, he could by ballot settle what finally fell to the arbitration of the sword. Most politicians preach faith in the people. Few of them have any. Douglas did. His Republican opponents had none. Neither did the pro-slavery factions of the North and South. While the Republicans had no program, the precise followers of

the Constitution had no remedy. Here was where Douglas stepped in.

Let us look at his beginnings. Stephen Arnold Douglas came from Scotch stock, as his name implies, and from the English Arnolds of Rhode Island. He was born at Brandon, Vermont, April 23, 1813. His father, a physician, bore the same name. Sarah Fish was the boy's mother. The Douglas grandsire fought in the Revolution from Cambridge to Yorktown. Dr. Douglas died when his son was but three years old. The marriage of an uncle who had cared for Stephen's welfare, set him on his own resources. His first essay at making a living was as apprentice to a cabinet maker in Middlebury, Vt. Then his mother remarried, and the step-father took the family to Canandaigua, New York. Here Stephen had a chance to attend an academy briefly. Next he fell into the tide that was flowing West. In November, 1833, he reached Illinois, with no capital beyond an active mind. The days were disputatious and, without a sheepskin, he took up the practice of law in the crude courts, held by Justices of the Peace, where the "tongueiest" orator was most apt to win his case. He won many of them.

This led him into politics on the side of Andrew Jackson against the aristocratic Whigs. His first stay was in Winchester, but in six months he established himself in Jacksonville, which was thereafter to be his home. It was the seat of Morgan County, and Douglas soon acquired a commanding place in State politics, which he never lost. Here he was admitted to the bar and hung out his shingle in March, 1834, though not yet twenty-one.



Photograph by Brown Brothers

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

In January, 1835, the Legislature deposed John J. Hardin from the position of Attorney General and gave it to Douglas by a majority of four. He was then only a few months over age. He became a member of the Legislature in 1836, and at once the Democratic leader. The youth had a genius for politics.

President Van Buren made him Register of the land office in April, 1837. This took him to Springfield, where he began to face Abraham Lincoln. Douglas ran for Congress in 1840 and was beaten by but thirty-five votes in 36,000 cast. The Democratic State ticket pulled through. Douglas was appointed Secretary of State, from which office he was elevated to the Supreme Court bench, February 15, 1841, at the ripe age of twenty-eight. The Illinois part of the republic was indeed Opportunity! Besides all this he was a social lion in Springfield and flirted with Miss Mary Todd, who became Mrs. Abraham Lincoln.

The following December, 1842, he lost the United States senatorship by five votes, though under legal age for the office. The next turn of the wheel sent him to Congress, by a plurality of 461. He had then been ten years in the State, and held a record for office filling. Joining the Twenty-eighth Congress in December, 1843, he began his national career, having passed thirty. Thus, but a youth, already dubbed "Little Giant," Douglas came into the mighty company led by Webster, Clay, Calhoun and their kind. Congress and Senate were great debating societies. The compromise of 1820 had been in force for twenty-three years, staying the march of slavery, but concentrating its iniquities. Tariff discrimination had almost severed

the South a decade before. North and South bristled at each other. Yet neither was disposed to face fairly the reasons for its differences.

The Mormon Colony established at Nauvoo, Illinois, by Joseph Smith, was in Douglas' district. He made friends with the Prophet and his election to Congress was credited to Mormon votes. He was often dubbed "the Mormon Congressman." Smith was the only man of vision in the United States at the time. He had prophesied in 1839 that a war between the states would break out in 1860 at Charleston, South Carolina, if steps were not taken to relieve the slave pressure. His own scheme was to annex Texas, "liberate the slaves in two or three states" and send them thereto, indemnifying their owners. Then he proposed to take over Mexico by force and press the blacks on to that region, where as he put it, "all colors are alike." Further, on March 26, 1844, he petitioned Congress to be allowed to enlist an army of 100,000 men "to extend protection to persons wishing to settle Oregon" and to "extend protection to the people of Texas." He meant to take California, believing England had designs upon it. Elder Orson Hyde represented Smith at Washington and reported: "Judge Douglas has been quite ill, but he is just recovered. He will help all he can." On April 26th he reported further: "We have this day had a long conversation with Judge Douglas. He is right for Oregon and California. He said he would resign his seat in Congress if he could command the force that Mr. Smith could, and would be on the march for that country in a month. 'In five years,' said he, 'a noble state might be formed and

then if they would not receive us into the Union we would have a government of our own.' "

Smith's dreams of empire came to an end with his murder by a mob at Carthage, Illinois, June 27, 1864. The Mormons had swung their votes from side to side in Illinois and lost political support. It became necessary for them to move on. Governor Ford appointed Douglas, John J. Hardin, W. B. Warren and J. A. McDougall a commission to arrange for their departure. This was brought about by an agreement with Brigham Young made on October 1, 1845, when in strange fulfillment of Smith's desire, the United States moved on Mexico and California. In 1846 the trekking Mormons were called upon to furnish a battalion, with the promise that they should end their march in California. Young agreed and the men enlisted. Douglas had a friendly hand in this. In 1856, however, when Young threatened war, Douglas made a speech at Springfield in which he denounced Mormonism as "the loathsome ulcer on the body politic." His name and his forgotten friendliness to the sect were perpetuated in Fort Douglas, the United States Military post overlooking Lake City.

But, to return: Texas had become an unsuccessful republic and came rapping at the door. The compromise of 1820 only kept slavery below 36:30; the North had not reckoned on any further growth of its power. It looked askance at the proposition. Polk's victory in 1844 put the Democrats—and the South—again in control. Texas came into the Union, bringing with it the Mexican War. To keep it company there was fair prospect of an armed clash with Great

Britain on the Oregon boundary. "Fifty-four forty or fight" was a lusty slogan. The Administration preferred to fight Mexico and compromised with England. Texas, which had been free under Mexico, became slave under the Stars and Stripes. In 1847 Illinois promoted Douglas to the Senate where he soon loomed large.

Zachary Taylor of Louisiana, who won the Presidency in 1848, though a native of Virginia, set his face firmly against the extension of slavery. He took his guidance from William H. Seward and proclaimed that there was no need of a new party to settle the question. Though John C. Calhoun insisted that the Constitution followed the flag, and that the Constitution authorized slavery, California was too rich to be rebuffed when it insisted on coming in free.

The territory newly acquired by conquest contained Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada and Utah, in the last of which the Mormons, under Brigham Young, had established a considerable colony. The slave power extended its hands toward them. Unfortunately, the issue was not partisan, but sectional, and disruptive of both parties, though in the contention the Whigs were the chief losers. The so-called compromise bills of 1850 now passed. They left the question of slave extension open in the territories but accepted California under its own mandate of freedom. Bitter debates resulted from the controversy, out of which Douglas became eminent. Senator Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was his chief opponent.

The North accepted the compromise and breathed easier for the moment. Daniel Webster hailed its enact-

ment as a "day of rejoicing." Henry Clay called it "a triumph for the Union, for harmony and accord." Douglas felt a sense of exaltation. "No man and no party has acquired a triumph except the party friendly to the Union" was his dictum.

Douglas now became a candidate for President in the Democratic convention that nominated Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, at Baltimore, June 1, 1852. His highest vote was but 33. Only two of these came from the South. Before election day both Clay and Webster passed from the scene and the Senate beheld thereafter the strivings of much smaller men. Douglas kept his seat, being re-elected for six years in January, 1853. Pierce, chosen President, accepted the view that the Constitution upheld slavery and pushed the question to one side, where it declined to stay.

Besides the ordinary impetus for settlements that comes with the opening of new lands, the railroad builders had their eyes on the Kansas-Nebraska territory. Douglas had been active in building the first line in Illinois, from Meredicia to Springfield. It ran through Jacksonville, where he resided. Asa Whitney had asked for a land grant sixty miles wide from Lake Michigan to the Oregon shore, as the basis for financing a transcontinental line. He was a resident of Quincy, Illinois. Before the discovery of gold in California, the Oregon country was an objective—due to the border dispute with England. The Mexican War, and the settlement of the Oregon boundary, ended interest in that, but the acquisition of California, and the discovery of gold, renewed the demand for a Pacific railroad. The South, with an eye to its

special interests, urged a line westward from Memphis. Growing Chicago countered with agitation for one, via Council Bluffs. Here Douglas' interests became involved. His share, therefore, in Kansas-Nebraska legislation had something more than politics behind it.

South and North each sought to control the highway from East to West. After the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, at the next session of Congress, January 5, 1855, Douglas introduced a measure to provide for three roads to the Pacific—one from Texas, one from Missouri or Iowa, one from Minnesota—routes that have since been covered. He passed the measure through the Senate, but Southern influences killed it in the House, holding that Eastern money would dominate the two Northern routes. Thus, the real underlying factor was profits, while the South, by invoking war, lost its financial as well as its political power.

Douglas was chairman of the Committee on Territories of the Senate and on January 4, 1854, in a report from that body, evolved his celebrated doctrine of popular sovereignty, which was to wreck the Missouri Compromise. With it came an act admitting Nebraska as a State, providing that it should come into the Union, "with or without slavery," as its Constitution might prescribe at the time of admission. This was throwing wide open to popular choice territory north of 36:30, that had been specifically closed by Congress in 1820. The Senator tried to justify his course as one that repealed both guarantee and prohibition, each of which he held were unconstitutional

and wrong in principle. With rare naïveté, he argued that the dividing line was unjust to the people of the North, as it forbade their holding slaves, while granting the right to those of the South. This sophism hardly appeased those who had heard him declare in 1850, that the Missouri Compromise was "canonized in the hearts of the American people" and that "no ruthless hand would ever be reckless enough to disturb it." Yet, here he was now supplying the "ruthless hand" himself! No wonder the country stood amazed. The North rose in almost one body. Press and pulpit raged. Douglas was denounced as a Judas, and a little Ohio town sent him thirty pieces of silver! His own State burnt him in effigy and threatened him with lynching. He had unwittingly torn the situation open, for whatever motive, and the consequences were direful to the land.

The proposition suited neither North nor South. On January 16th, Senator Archibald Dixon, of Kentucky, introduced a bill to repeal the Missouri Compromise. This Douglas accepted and on January 24th, reported his bill anew, with a provision for repealing the compromise, aiming it would appear to let the slave powers capture Kansas, leaving Nebraska free, assuming the North would populate it, while Missouri grabbed Kansas. After a memorable struggle the measure passed both Senate and House. President Pierce signed it May 30, 1854.

The term of James Shields, who was to have the distinction of serving three states in the Senate, one of which was Illinois, ran out and a Legislature to fill it was to be elected in 1854. Shields was a candidate

for re-election and Douglas supported him heartily. The Legislature rejected Shields and the Senatorship went to Lyman Trumbull, a Democrat of a different type from either Shields or Douglas. Once, during the campaign, the latter met Abraham Lincoln in joint debate. From that time on they were arrayed against each other, Lincoln becoming the leader of the new Republican Party that was fast replacing the fading Whigs. The Kansas-Nebraska troubles, thus unloosed by Douglas ran their course of bloodshed and passion. James Buchanan was elected President, with the expectation that he would allay the turmoil. It turned out just the reverse.

With inconceivable folly, as it now appears, the slave forces seized upon the case of one Dred Scott, chattel of an estate, who, considering himself free by reason of residence in Illinois, where he had been voluntarily carried by his owner, was re-enslaved in Missouri, whither he returned under the impression that he was safe, as affording opportunity to deal both Douglas and abolition a telling blow. The case had been in the courts for years, without a decision, and was brought to life in the U. S. Supreme Court, unquestionably by connivance with Buchanan, who was close to Roger Taney, the chief justice. Public expectations were aroused, and Buchanan, in his first inaugural, expressed the hope that whatever the decision might be it would be accepted and obeyed. Two days after Mr. Buchanan took office, on March 6, 1857, Taney handed down his edict. It was that States arose from territories, and territories were created by Congress, becoming States by its sanction. There-

fore, it was the duty of Congress to establish a government over a territory "best suited for the protection and security of the citizens of the United States, and other inhabitants who might be authorized to take up their abode there." But "The territory being a part of the United States, the government and the citizen both enter it under the authority of the Constitution, with their respective rights defined and marked out; and the Federal government can exercise no power over his person or property beyond what that instrument confers, nor lawfully deny any right which it had reserved." To back this he quoted the fifth amendment included in Jefferson's Bill of Rights that "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law." He went on: "And the powers over person and property of which we speak, are not only not granted to Congress, but are in express terms denied, and they are forbidden to exercise them." In short: "It could confer no power on any local government, established by its authority, to violate the provisions of the Constitution." With Taney's view that no State or territory had the power to alienate property, there would probably have been no serious quarrel, but his obiter dictum, which was appended to the opinion, endorsing the view that no black men had any rights a white man was bound to respect, raised a great outcry and made the question of slavery more acute than ever before. The Kansas-Nebraska dispute broke out afresh. The conflict was on and due to be fought to a finish.

The Lecompton and Topeka Constitutions were in collision, and Mr. Buchanan began by accepting the

government organized under the former. For this he was called severely to account. New England rang with the dispute, and Missouri border ruffians contended in Kansas with fanatics serving under John Brown and his associates on the Free State side. Mr. Buchanan sent regular troops to bring about order. Their commanders behaved with discretion. The President appointed a Pennsylvania man, then located in Mississippi—Robert J. Walker, to govern the unruly province, which he did well but briefly. Mr. Buchanan considered civil war rampant in the territory and it was. On Douglas he served this notice: "I wish you to remember that no Democrat ever yet differed from an administration of his own choice without being crushed," to which the dauntless Douglas replied, "Mr. President, I wish you to remember that Andrew Jackson is dead." With that he gave warning of his intent to oppose the Lecompton constitution which the slave forces had provided for Kansas. "Why force this constitution down the throats of the people of Kansas in opposition to their wishes and in violation of their pledges?" he asked pertinently, concluding: "But if this constitution is forced down our throats, in violation of the fundamental principles of free government, under a mode of submission that is a mockery and an insult, I will resist to the last." So he went as far as the farthest in his stand. The Free Staters refused to vote and the result was all one way. Then Buchanan went to the extreme of holding that "Kansas is * * * at this moment as much of a slave state as Georgia or South Carolina." Douglas was of course roundly assailed from the side of the administration

and the South. He stood up, however, insisting that there be a resubmission of the Kansas constitution. He carried his point though the Senate had voted to accept the State under that of Lecompton. This was done and it was rejected 11,812 to 1,926. The territory thus definitely defied the dictums of the Supreme Court.

When the voters had signified their desires, Buchanan urged upon Congress "the speedy admission of Kansas into the Union" as a free state—believing it "would restore peace and quiet to the whole country. * * * Kansas once admitted into the Union, the excitement becomes localized, and will soon die away, for want of outside aliment. Then every difficulty will be settled at the ballot box."

This was a hope not to be fulfilled. Congress, by a strictly party vote on May 4, 1858, voted to admit Kansas, but under the Lecompton, or pro-slavery Constitution; Kansas having repudiated that document, naturally refused to accept Statehood under its provisions, so voting on August 2, 1858.

Defending his own attitude, Douglas declared:

> Everywhere I have endeavored to prove that there was no reason why an exception should be made in regard to the slavery question. . . . The very first proposition in the Nebraska bill was to show that the Missouri restriction, prohibiting them from deciding the slavery question for themselves, constituted an exception to a general rule, in violation of the principle of self-government; and hence that that exception should be repealed, and the slavery question, like all other questions, submitted to the people, to be decided by themselves. That was the principle on which the Nebraska bill

was defended by its friends. Instead of making the slavery question an exception, it removed an odious exception which before existed. . . . We repealed the Missouri restriction because it was confined to slavery. That was the only exception there was to the general principle of self-government. That exception was taken away for the avowed and express purpose of making the rule of self-government general and universal, so that the people should form and regulate all their domestic institutions in their own way.

His term expiring, Horace Greeley and other influential Republicans desired that he should not be opposed by the party in Illinois, because of his Kansas stand. This view was not accepted. Instead Abraham Lincoln was nominated. The campaign opened June 16, 1858, and there began the famous debate between the two men which was to lead Lincoln to the White House. Lincoln then laid down his precept:

We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object, and confident promise of putting an end to the slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A House divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new—North as well as South.

It would be hard to conceive a greater contrast than that afforded by the two contestants. Lincoln was six feet, six inches tall, ungainly in gait and manner. His clothes hung loosely upon his lank figure; he was without oratorical tricks; his voice, high and piercing, rather jarred the ear. Yet his words when put into print were golden. They live with the utterances of the immortals.

Douglas, on the other hand, was a finished speaker. He had studied in the school of Webster and Clay. Orotund and oracular, he rounded his periods and appealed to the ear more than the brain. Dapper in dress and figure, almost diminutive in size, he was diametrically the opposite of his antagonist. "Popular sovereignty" was the only phrase of his creation that seems to have survived.

To aid Douglas in his cause he had the hostility of Buchanan's administration. His patronage was cut off and his views held to be heretical. Lincoln, Douglas tried to brush aside as "a kind, amiable and intelligent gentleman" and "good citizen" one whom he had known "personally and intimately for a quarter of a century."

While Lincoln spoke with the voice of a prophet, that of Douglas was the voice of the people. The right of self-determination made the stronger appeal. The majority were neither interested in the future of slavery, or the construction of the Constitution. It was enough to leave the question (and all others) to the decision of the voter when required. The "initiative and referendum" doctrine of later days harks back to this sentiment. There were plenty to stand for his declaration that "this government of ours is founded

on the white basis" and only abolitionists cared to give any respect to the "rights" denied the negro by Judge Taney's "Dred Scott" decision.

The two debaters faced each other at frequent intervals on the same platform from August 21st to October 15th, the contest ending at Alton on the latter date.

When the nation took account of stock after election day in 1858 it was amazed to find that the new Republican party had captured Congress, and possessed twenty-five senators. The man who had done most to bring this about was not among the number. While Illinois had gone Republican by 3,821 plurality, Mr. Lincoln failed to gain enough legislators to offset twelve hold-over Democrats in the state assembly. Douglas beat Lincoln in the balloting, 54 to 46.

The rail-splitter went humbly back to his law office. Of the contest, he observed: "It gave me a hearing on the great and durable question of the age which I could have had in no other way; and though I now sink out of view and shall be forgotten, I believe I have made some marks which will tell for the cause of civil liberty long after I am gone."

The immediate outcome was that Douglas figured large. He was able to set aside the animus of the Administration, and to lead the party as much as it could be led, on its way to disaster. A good percentage of the people in the North believed he had selected the right road out of the national perplexity. It was the other way in the South whither Douglas journeyed after his victory in an endeavor to smooth the party differences. He did not succeed. When the Senate was

organized he lost the Chairmanship of the Committee on Territories and was continually challenged in debate. He remained firm in his position. "I tell you gentlemen of the South in all candor," he once declared, "I do not believe a Democratic candidate can ever carry one state of the North on the platform that it is the duty of the Federal government to force the people of a territory to have slavery when they do not want it." This was renewed defiance of the Supreme Court, which lacked the means of enforcing its mandate and which Buchanan dared not supply.

Harper and Brothers were the leading publishers of America, and their *New Monthly Magazine* was a power. In the issue of September, 1859, the trio, who were Democrats, did an unusual thing. No articles were signed in that day, but Douglas was given nineteen pages in which to discuss over his signature "Popular Sovereignty in the Territories." The periodical was widely read in the South, and the article was intended to make a strong political appeal. It concluded with this paragraph in italics:

> The principle under our political system is that every distinct political community, loyal to the Constitution and the Union, is entitled to all the rights, privileges and immunities of self-government in relation to their local concerns and internal policy, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.

We have since conceded this more than once by using the processes of Constitutional amendments to wipe them out!

The crisis of 1860 was now near and came to a

crux in the convention of the Democratic party at Charleston, South Carolina, where it met on April 23rd. Southern votes coupled with California and Oregon put Caleb Cushing, a cold-blooded "constitutionalist" from Massachusetts, in the chair. The stage was set for a fight between slavery and popular sovereignty, by the former's control of the Committee on Resolutions, which at once came to a clinch.

It was five days before the wrangling Committee reported with a split. The Southern and West Coast members, who were in the majority, endorsed the Dred Scott decision, denied the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the territories, and affirmed that territorial legislatures were equally powerless. This had been carried in the Committee, 17 to 16. Douglas' following was a majority in the convention, and to prevent the adoption of the minority report, the Southerners filibustered. Cushing ruled in their favor and so caused deep resentment on the part of the majority of delegates. He threatened to leave the chair unless order was respected. The two sides locked horns and the platform went over until Monday, when the Douglas men won, 165 to 138. As a result, fifty-one Southerners left their seats, so that on Tuesday but two hundred and fifty-two delegates were on hand. The two thirds rule was, however, adopted. Nominations followed. Douglas was named, together with Daniel S. Dickinson, R. M. T. Hunter, Andrew Johnson and Gen. Joseph Lane. Douglas had the lead—145½ votes. His highest number was 152½. Fifty-seven ballots having produced a deadlock, and no progress

AMINADAB SLEEK AT JONES' WOOD.

"My friends, there is no patriotic duty on earth more gratifying to my feelings than to make a speech over Mr. Lincoln's politi[cal] grave. [Loud cheers.] I do not make this remark out of any unkindness to Mr. Lincoln, but I believe that the good of his [co]untry requires it."—*Douglas's Speech, Wednesday, September 12th*, 1860.

A "CLOSE-UP" OF DOUGLAS

One of the best of current cartoons of this able politician.
From *Vanity Fair*, October 13, 1860

being possible, the convention adjourned to meet in Baltimore on June 18th.

Between the conventions Jefferson Davis introduced a set of resolutions in the Senate embodying the principles declared in what had been the majority platform report at Charleston, which the Douglas men had defeated. These were for supporting Taney's view of the constitution. Davis led in the resulting debate. "We claim protection" he asserted, "first because it is our right; secondly, because it is the duty of the general government. * * * What right has Congress to abdicate any power conferred upon it as the trustee of the states? But we make you no threat; we only give you warning." Douglas was of course in the center of the fire. Responding later to assault from Davis he said: "My name never would have been presented at Charleston, except for the attempt to proscribe me as a heretic. Too unsound to be the chairman of a committee of this body, where I have held a seat for so many years without a suspicion resting on my political fidelity, I was forced to allow my name to go there in self-defence; and I will now say that had any gentleman, friend or foe, received a majority of that convention over me, the lightning would have carried a message withdrawing my name."

Continuing, he flatly accused Davis and his following of planning secession as early as 1858 and that they were pursuing a course that would "lead directly and inevitably to a dissolution of the Union."

May 17th, the two again debated. "I have no respect for platforms," said Davis. "Would sooner have

an honest man on any sort of a rickety platform you could construct than to have a man I did not trust on the best platform which could be made." To which Douglas retorted: "If the platform is not a matter of consequence, why press the question to the disruption of the party? Why did you not tell us in the beginning of this debate that the whole fight was against the man and not upon the platform?"

To his great credit, Douglas would not allow himself to be driven from his position. The people and the people alone, he unflinchingly held, ought to decide whether their territories should be bond or free. He openly charged the fire-eaters with plotting to divide the Union.

When the Convention assembled in the Front Street Theatre, Baltimore, it was found the breach had widened. Four days passed before the Committee on Credentials could report. Several contests were left to the convention. The Douglasites controlled and seated their own kind. The anti-Douglas element held mass meetings, where fiery speeches were made by orators like William L. Yancey. Secession was in the air—not because of Abraham Lincoln, who with Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, had been nominated in the interim by the Republican convention at Chicago, on May 19th, but of Stephen A. Douglas. The convention became a bear-garden. In a speech of much dignity, mingled with despair, Cushing resigned the chair and took his seat with the Massachusetts delegation, Governor David Todd of Ohio, taking his place. At this point Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, arose and announced his purpose and that of some of his

associates to retire. This they did, amid cat-calls and hisses. On a second ballot Douglas received 181½ votes out of 194½ cast, and was declared nominated. The two thirds requirement of 202 fixed at Charleston was set aside.

The bolters named John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, then Vice-President and Joseph Lane of Oregon, while on May 9th, the Whigs at Baltimore, in what was their last gasp, had already nominated John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts. It was at once perceived that with three tickets in the field Lincoln would win. Jefferson Davis took the lead in an endeavor to induce all candidates to withdraw in favor of some fusion that would save the day. Breckinridge and Bell were willing but Douglas refused on the ground that it would betray his friends, who would go en masse to Lincoln; the scheme was therefore impracticable. So the three tickets remained to divide the Anti-Republican vote.

With all of Douglas' prestige, as a result of this division Lincoln had small fear of him when they met at the polls. "Mr. Douglas is a cabinet maker" he was jestingly reminded when the campaign opened. "He was when I first knew him" was his reply, "but he gave up the business so long ago that I don't think he can make a President's chair now."

"Will Judge Douglas ever be President?" some one asked William H. Seward, then senator.

"No, sir," was the reply. "No man will ever be President of the United States who spells 'negro' with two g's."

This was witty, but the Republican platform offered

no opportunity for making states free by vote of their people. Instead it disapproved of Popular Sovereignty and condemned the John Brown raid into Virginia that was still echoing.

Douglas fought his fight ably, though he knew his cause was lost. When counted, Lincoln had 1,857,610 votes; Douglas 1,291,574; Breckinridge 850,082; Bell 646,124. So Lincoln won by a plurality—930,170 less than a majority of the poll. Of electors Lincoln had 180, Douglas 12, Breckenridge 72 and Bell 39.

Manfully, the Little Giant had stood up against his foes. Loyally he supported Lincoln in the events that followed.

Douglas showed with all other Northern statesmen the bewilderment attending the organization of a Southern Confederacy at Montgomery in January 1861. The desire to avoid a clash by overt acts on the part of the National government was paramount. Douglas went so far as to offer a resolution in the Senate advising the "withdrawal of the garrisons from all forts within the limits of the states, which had seceded, except those at Key West and the Dry Tortugas, needful to the United States for coaling stations." In supporting this suggestion he added: "I proclaim boldly (he might better have said timidly), the policy of those with whom I act. We are for peace." He held the new President's hat while he read his inaugural on the steps of the Capitol. But his strength was gone: he was no longer a giant in any sense. His campaign left him $80,000 in debt and weakened physically. "Mr. Douglas," said President Lincoln to Albert D. Richardson, correspondent of the New York *Tribune*,

soon after Sumter, "spent three hours with me this afternoon. For several days he has been too unwell for business, and has devoted his time to studying war matters, until he understands the military system better than anyone in the Cabinet. Our conversation turned upon the rendition of slaves. 'You know,' said Douglas, 'that I am entirely sound on the fugitive slave law. I am for enforcing it in all cases within its true intent and meaning; but after examining it carefully have concluded that a negro insurrection is a case to which it does not apply.' "

He died at Chicago, June 3, 1861, having little more than entered his forty-ninth year.

His death [wrote Richardson from Washington to the *Tribune*] excites profound and universal regret. Though totally unfamiliar with books, Mr. Douglas thoroughly knew the masses of the Northwest, down to their minutest sympathies and prejudices. Beyond any of his contemporaries he was a man of the people and the people loved him. Never before could he have died so opportunely for his posthumous fame. Nothing in his life became him like the leaving of it. His last speech, in Chicago, was a fervid, stirring appeal for the union and the government, and for crushing out treason with an iron hand. His emphatic loyalty exercised great influence in Illinois. His lifelong opponents forget the asperities of the past, in the halo of patriotism around his setting sun, and unite with those who always idolized him, in common tribute to his memory.

Lincoln, Richardson held, "while distinctly of the masses * * * represented their sober, second thought, their higher aspirations, their better possibilities. Douglas embodied their average impulses,

both good and bad. Upon the stump, his fluency, his hard common sense, and his wonderful voice, which could thunder like the cataract, or whisper with the breeze, enabled him to sway them at his will." Moreover: "Entirely without general culture, more ignorant of books than any other public man of his day, Douglas was christened 'The Little Giant' by the unerring popular instinct. He, who without learning of the schools, and without preparation, could cope with Webster, Seward and Sumner surely deserved that appellation."

The deep lack in Douglas, which was shown when pitted against Lincoln, was not in vote getting, but in failing to grasp the great moral principle involved. Like Roger Taney, he could not perceive that the Negro had any rights a white man was bound to respect. His jealousy alone concerned the rights of the whites, and here his doctrine of Popular Sovereignty came in. He stood by the theory that the people had a right to keep slaves, and gave no thought at all to the question of whether or not it was right to do so. The settlement of the first question he regarded as something to be left to the people of a State, that is to say, of the new ones to be created west of the Mississippi—the old ones were settled in their several positions. The North would not permit slavery, the South would not permit freedom; its extension was to be left to those who wanted it. His "compromise" contravened the Constitution on one hand and the rights of the Negro on the other. That he aimed to save the Union is beyond doubt, but the wiser Lincoln could see what Douglas could not perceive, that it must

cease to exist half slave and half free. Lincoln had not figured out a way to solve the problem, but his great mind told him what Douglas' did not, that the end of either the institution or the nation was near.

On the face of his opinions Douglas should have satisfied the South and secured his election to the Presidency. There were enough votes to do it, but the strict Constitutionalists undid him and pulled away the ballots that would have averted war. The inelasticity of a document, resting upon the chance of one man's opinion in the Supreme Court, has more than once imperilled the welfare of the country—and will again!

Nasby summed Douglas up not unjustly, in this phrase: "His imatashen of Jaxon wood be good if he want too short at both ends—his characterizashun uv the Tennessee stump politishun would be capital ef he didn't spile it with a weak delushun of Massachusetts—he wood in short be a good Democrat ef he lit Ablishnism alone, and he mite possibly be a good Ablishnist ef hed lit Democracy alone and not say much."

So he fell hard between two stools.

X

WILLIAM H. SEWARD

GREATER THAN HIS PARTY

WHILE William Henry Seward never came before the people at the polls as the Presidential candidate of a party, he no less deserves a place among those who did, for his talents and achievements earned him a right to that lofty ambition. Indeed it seemed assured that he would carry off the nomination at the second convention led by the Republicans at Chicago, on May 16, 1860, but he was defeated by the hostility of Horace Greeley and the shrewd tactics employed by Abraham Lincoln and his Illinois supporters. Obscured by the gigantic shadow cast by the apotheosis of Lincoln, Seward's place in history has become unduly small. It appears large to the student of American progress. Born at Florida, Orange county, New York, May 16, 1801, he graduated from Union College, Schenectady, in 1820 and adopted the law as a profession, setting up practice in 1823 at Auburn, which was thereafter his home and base of his active political operations. His great gloomy square mansion is still a landmark in the town.

Here he was soon in politics, where he shone for nearly a half century. The Anti-Masonic movement in New York and its contiguous states was under way

WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD
From a painting by H. Inman

in 1830. Seward came into touch with Thurlow Weed, the editor and owner of the *Albany Journal*. The two struck up a brotherhood that never parted. Western New York was seething with incidental excitement. The murder of William Morgan, of Batavia, in 1826, because of his exposure of masonic "secrets" led to an extraordinary uprising, which, though it accomplished nothing for itself became of importance in other directions. One of its chief outcomes was the development of Seward as a factor in American politics. The Anti-Masons grew into a party, which nominated Seward for the State Senate in 1830 and elected him. This brought him to Albany and close to Weed. He secured a second term in the Senate, by the end of which period the Whig party had assumed shape in New York State and nominated him for governor in 1834. William L. Marcy defeated him. In the war on Martin Van Buren the Whigs grew in power. Nominated again in 1838 Seward was elected and re-elected. While governor he pardoned James Watson Webb, editor of the New York *Courier and Enquirer,* the Whig organ, who had been sentenced to two years in Sing Sing for fighting a duel with Thomas F. Marshall of Kentucky. In grateful appreciation the editor named his next born son William Seward Webb. In the meantime Horace Greeley had been added to the partnership. The three ruled the Whig party, and made themselves felt in the nation.

In 1849 the Whigs controlled the New York legislature and sent Seward to the United States Senate. The Anti-Masons had long ago vanished, but the new territory brought in by the victory over Mexico had

opened up the free-soil agitation, developed a party and split both Whigs and Democrats into factions. Seward went to Washington as the open foe of slavery from the most important state in the Union. He had welded together diverse elements to make himself Senator and was soon to employ them further in forming a party. Zachary Taylor was President and had called upon the Congress in his message to provide government for the annexed regions. Seward came promptly into the atmosphere of compromise with a motion reviving the Wilmot proviso, previously rejected. It read: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, otherwise than by conviction for crime, shall be allowed in either of said territories of Utah and New Mexico."

This was defeated by 33 to 23, Clay, Webster and Daniel S. Dickinson, Seward's Democratic colleague from New York voting in the negative. He speedily found himself in a majority when dealing with the admission of California as a free state. Dickinson voted with Seward. So did Lewis Cass and Stephen A. Douglas. Clay and Webster are not recorded. In the debate covering the various phases of the compromise Seward had a bold and distinguished share. "I say to the slave states," he said, "you are entitled to no more stringent laws and that such laws would be useless. The cause of the inefficiency of the present statute is not at all the leniency of its provisions; it is the public sentiment in the North, which will not support the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act. * * * If you will have this law executed you must alleviate, not increase its rigors."

This was wise and true, if unacceptable even to

Webster and Clay. He made the two most notable utterances put forth concerning the slavery question. The first of these was also in the debate on the compromise. "We hold," he declared, "no arbitrary authority on anything, whether acquired lawfully or seized by usurpation. The constitution regulates our stewardships; the constitution devotes the domain (territorial) to union, to justice, to defence, to welfare, to liberty. But there is a higher law than the constitution, which regulates our authority over the domain, and devotes it to the same noble purpose. * * * I feel assured that slavery must give way * * * that emancipation is inevitable and near * * * but I will adopt none but lawful, constitutional and forceful means to secure even that end."

Daniel Webtser, Henry Clay, Thomas Corwin, John P. Hale, John C. Calhoun and Lewis Cass were among his listeners. As a Whig he was registered as speaking for President Taylor. Webster was contemptuous of the speech, and Clay held that it would cost Seward all respect. He was vigorously condemned, but his party in his state endorsed his utterances. Taylor died, and Seward at odds with Fillmore in New York politics, continued so in Washington. It came about, however, through one change and another that three men of great ability came to Seward's support, after Clay, Calhoun and Webster had passed from the scene. They were John P. Hale of New Hampshire, Salmon P. Chase of Ohio and Charles Sumner of Massachusetts. Douglas vibrated between them and the extremists of the South now led by Jefferson Davis of Mississippi. The Free Soil party came into portentous being, run-

ning Hale for the Presidency against Pierce in 1852. Massachusetts fought the return of slaves and other states were careless of the law. Democrats became free-soilers under the name of Barn-burners, following the lines laid for them by Van Buren. They also developed "Hunkers" as they were called. In New York Prohibition evolved a following. Weed and Seward skillfully united the several diverse elements and elected a governor of New York in 1852. Then came the Republican party out of the chaos of kickers which Seward and Weed later seized and made their own. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise gave it growth and in 1856 it was able to stand alone. Seward seemed the logical candidate for its first try at the Presidency. He had, however, many enemies and was too well known as to views and methods. In all new parties there is much political refuse and this one was full of it; though including many men of brains and courage, it still had to follow expediency rather than principle. Weed considered its following too weak to carry Seward with his handicap of hostility and on his advice he made no attempt to secure the nomination which went to Fremont as already told. The party did not try to draft its most eminent member. Its purposes were not yet clear. Seward was a persistent foe of slavery. The party had no mind to do more than head off its extension. He had tried to abolish it in the District of Columbia as a starting point and endeavored to bring about the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law. Greeley had cast off Weed and Seward. His voice was for Fremont. So Seward subsided, saved himself from

defeat and kept to his purposes. He did believe the party could succeed in 1860 and trimmed his sails for the second contest. The Missouri compromise had been repealed, the Kansas-Nebraska bill passed and James Buchanan had been elected President. These things on the surface seemed to make the new party futile, which it would have been but for the dissensions among its opponents. The country itself was weary of the continuous contention and would gladly have sunk the slavery question in the bottom of the sea, but the moves made to save it kept the Abolition cause alive and the Southern leaders fanned its flame.

Seward stood with Douglas in favor of Popular Sovereignty, and astonished the Republicans in the Senate by supporting Buchanan's army bill in 1857. This, men like John P. Hale opposed in the fear that the augmented force would be used to coerce Kansas. Seward had no such apprehension. "We are fighting," he said in reply to Hale "for a majority of the states. They are already sixteen to fifteen. Whatever this administration may do—whatever anybody may do, before one year from this time we shall be nineteen to fifteen." Which was precisely what the South was afraid of. When taken to task by Republicans Seward replied tartly: "I know nothing, I care nothing—I never did, I never shall—for party." He saw clearly the consistency of Douglas and it appealed strongly to his sense of the higher law. By 1858 Seward had come to be recognized as the chief power in the Republican party despite his declaration of indifference. Lincoln had been defeated by Douglas. His "house divided" was still standing when Seward made his sec-

ond notable declaration at Rochester, N. Y., on October 25, 1858, saying: "So incompatible are the two systems that every new state makes its first political act a choice of the one and an exclusion of the other, even at the cost of civil war, if necessary. They who think that it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested or fanatical agitators and therefore ephemeral, mistake the case altogether. It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become entirely a slave-holding nation or entirely a free-labor nation. * * * I know and you know that revolution has begun. I know and all the world knows that revolutions never go backwards."

The November elections followed. To the amazement of all, the despised Republicans were in control of Congress, and Seward stood foremost among them. When Congress came to organize, the Southern senators and representatives were in the utmost dismay. Secession was in the air. John Sherman's candidacy for Speaker was looked upon as the forerunner of Seward's nomination and election the next year, termed by Roger A. Pryor "the ultimate catastrophe." Nobody dreamed of Abraham Lincoln. Seward was the bogey man. Sherman lost the speakership to a nonentity from New Jersey. There was a little cessation of stress, when John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry re-awoke the issue.

To Seward the situation seemed absurd, as indeed it was: "It will be an overwhelming source of shame as well as sorrow if we thirty millions * * * cannot so combine prudence with humanity, in our conduct

concerning the one disturbing subject of slavery. * * * There is not over the face of the whole world to be found one representative of our country who is not an apologist for the extension of slavery."

It was his wish that the demands for disunion should be considered "seriously and with a just moderation." He would so plead, but he also was unable to regard the "extraordinary declamations" as he termed them as likely of fulfillment as "so unnatural that they will find no hand to execute them." The radical anti-slavery men considered this tone one of weakness and it likewise failed to soothe the South. Some men regarded the speech as sensible and sound. Wendell Phillips charged that Seward had shaped it so as to suit Wall Street.

The Republican National Convention was now due with the stage set for Seward. Senator Preston King wrote John Bigelow on April 23, 1860: "I think as I have thought for a long time that Governor Seward will be nominated." "Could a popular vote on the subject be taken," observes James Ford Rhodes, "the majority in the Republican States would have been overwhelmingly in his favor. Intensely anxious for the nomination and confidently expecting it, he was alike the choice of the politicians and the people."

But obstacles rose suddenly and thick in his path. His belief in the "irrepressible conflict" was one of these. He had been outspoken against Know-Nothingism with its antipathy to immigrants. He was hooked up with high finance through his connection with Thurlow Weed, said an underground whisper. William Cullen Bryant found him "encumbered with bad as-

sociates." Most active of all his enemies was Horace Greeley, his former political partner, who was furiously in opposition to his nomination. He went to Chicago waving a banner for Edward Bates of Missouri, who was an owner of slaves but a liberal. Greeley favored Lincoln for Vice-President. Frank P. and Montgomery Blair were fellow Bates boomers. Greeley charged that Thurlow Weed, who was handling Seward, had plenty of money and was using it with effect. Weed's money had a brass band playing tunefully at the Richmond House, where he had opened a Seward headquarters, and copious quantities of champagne. It was arranged that William M. Evarts of New York would nominate Seward, while Carl Schurz of Wisconsin and Austin Blair of Michigan, were to second. Between times bands serenaded delegations who were expected to vote the right way. Greeley trailed the musicians urging against Seward. He made his great influence felt first in the Massachusetts delegation and others from New England. Virginia turned to Lincoln. Yet Greeley after going over the ground thought Seward would win and so telegraphed the New York *Tribune*.

The convention met in the Wigwam on May 16, 1860. David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, father of the famous proviso, called it to order and George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, a forgotten name, was permanent chairman. Bates for all of Greeley's efforts could poll but 48 votes on the first ballot. Seward had 173½ to 102 for Abraham Lincoln, 49 for Salmon P. Chase and 50½ for Simon Cameron. On the second call Seward counted 184. The third gave him 180, while

SEWARD'S GRAND STARRING TOUR.

KING RICHARD III.—Up with my Wigwam! here will I lie to-night.

SEWARD ON THE HUNT FOR VOTES

Seward was a formidable contender for the Republican nomination, which Lincoln captured. From *Vanity Fair,* October 13, 1860

Lincoln increased to 131½. Then in the midst of the balloting delegates shifted by shoals, and Lincoln was nominated with 350 out of the 450 delegates to his credit. It was an amazing exhibition of acumen on his part. The rail splitter had outdone the subtle Weed and the sophisticated Seward. Made unanimous the nomination startled the country in its unexpectedness and roused the slave-states into a wide-spread spirit of secession.

There was some rejoicing in the South, however over Seward's rejection. Senator Robert Toombs, for one declared that "Actaeon had been devoured by his own dogs." Deep indeed was the disappointment of the Seward following. The case-hardened Thurlow Weed broke down and shed a shower of tears. Others thought principle had been tossed aside for expediency in the choice of Lincoln. Harking back to Harrison's Log Cabin, they saw a "rail splitter" chosen for the sake of a slogan. James Russell Lowell, then editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* expressed the higher feeling when he wrote in commenting on the result: "We should have been pleased with Mr. Seward's nomination for the very reason we have been assigned for passing him by—that he represented the most advanced doctrines of his party." "Since the death of Webster we have not seen men so sober and sad in this city" recorded the Boston *Courier*. "I am" wrote Seward himself "a leader deposed by his own party, in the hour of organization for decisive battle." He did not sulk, however, but plunged actively into the campaign throughout which he spoke, with enormous effect, travelling as far west as Lawrence, Kansas. At-

tacking slavery he pleaded for a policy of patience and loving kindness toward the brethren of the South, yet proclaiming all the while the "irrepressible" nature of the conflict, holding it "high time we know whether this is a constitutional government under which we live"—a somewhat vain appeal for one who had so solemnly sat upon a "higher law than the Constitution."

There was much opposition when it became known that Lincoln had offered Seward the place of Secretary of State in his cabinet. Greeley frothed. "Seward," he wrote Schuyler Colfax, "is a poor, worthless devil and old Abe seems to have a weakness for such." So strong was the opposition that Seward withdrew his acceptance. Lincoln sent for him and asked him to "hold on," as he did not feel he could get along without him. Seward reconsidered after a day of reflection.

His first task was to meet the Southern commissioners who came to Washington seeking to arrange a peaceful separation of the states, and were sent back empty-handed. They had thought to play with him, overlooking, or rather despising, Lincoln. They carried with them, however, the delusion that Seward controlled the President. The Washington government vacillated. That at Montgomery pressed its point. There was confusion in the cabinet and Lincoln's mind had not worked to a conclusion. "We are at the end of a months' administration," wrote Seward to Lincoln on April 1, 1861, "and yet without a policy, either domestic or foreign." It was impossible to frame one without taking the aggressive, which neither the President or any other else wished to do.

He advised an effort to shift the question before the public from slavery to union or dis-union. The seceding of the South had shaped the issue on precisely that line. He wanted the great European nations challenged on their attitude toward the new "republic," which would have been ridiculous at the moment. Behind this lay the far-fetched idea that it would provoke foreign wrath and so unite the country for common safety.

The domestic policy soon shaped itself in an effort to reinforce the beleagured forts at Charleston and Pensacola. The South fired on Sumter and the "issue" was no longer specious. When England recognized the South as a belligerent, presaging recognition of it as a nation, Seward returned a sharp response to Earl Russell, advising him that such steps might result "in war between the United States and one, two, or even three European nations." This was correct, though Thurlow Weed thought Seward "too decisive" and caused an outburst in England, where there were few to love the Union anyway, especially with mills stopping because the cotton supply was cut off. Soon a real *casus belli* developed. Captain Charles Wilkes, U. S. N. commanding the steam frigate *San Jacinto,* enroute home from Africa overhauled on the high seas the British passenger steamer *Trent,* bearing James M. Mason of Virginia and John Slidell of Louisiana, Confederate commissioners to foreign parts, and took them off together with their secretaries. The party was carried to Boston and put in Fort Warren. The act was illegal beyond doubt, under our own rule concerning the right of search. Britain promptly demanded their release. Seward acted prudently, though

the country was quite willing to defy England. John Bigelow is responsible for a statement made him, he says, by Richard M. Blatchford, United States Minister to Rome that "Lincoln was fully determined not to surrender the commission," saying decidedly "No" when Seward laid Russell's dispatch before him. The Secretary said it was a grave step to refuse. "No matter," replied Lincoln, "I will never give them up."

"Then I shall be obliged to ask you, Mr. President, to write the reply to Earl Russell," said Seward, "for the strength of the argument from our past policy, so far as I can see is all in favor of a compliance with his demands."

To this Lincoln on reflection agreed, but required Seward to write one on his own lines. This Seward did. When Lincoln had perused it, he dropped his own letter, unread, into the grate, with "Seward, that argument is unanswerable." So the perilous incident was safely closed.

Seward was not discomposed at the usurpation of Maximillian, the Austrian Arch-Duke who set up a throne in Mexico, supported by French bayonets as a descendant of Charles V under whom Cortez conquered Montezuma. "I do not write or even talk just now about Mexican affairs," he wrote John Bigelow then in charge in France. "I think it prudent to watch and wait. Between you and myself alone, I have a belief that the European state, whichever one it may be, that commits itself to intervention anywhere in North America, will sooner or later fetch up in the arms of a nation of an Oriental country not specially distinguished for amiability of manners or temper."

He meant Russia whose czar Nicholas kept substantial fleets of warships in the harbors of San Francisco and New York for a season, while Louis Napoleon was trying to make mischief in Mexico.

After the battle of Fredericksburg there was so much criticism of the administration that Seward and Chase offered to resign from the cabinet. Chase had been an uncomfortable member. He was disposed of by being made Chief Justice when Roger Taney died. Seward stayed on Lincoln's insistence.

February 25, 1863, Seward wrote to Bigelow: "On the whole things are favorable. Republics, especially Federal ones must have agitations. There must be currents and counter-currents of opinion. But there will probably be no one of them strong enough to swamp so staunch a ship." He declined the French offer of mediation when it came along and would have delayed the Emancipation Proclamation.

The Secretary of State outrode all storms until that fateful 14th of April, 1865, when John Wilkes Booth slew Lincoln and his fellow assassins sought Seward's life. Nine days before the Secretary had jumped from his carriage as the horses ran away and had been severely hurt. He was delirious and in bed, when Lewis Powell, one of the band, pushed his way into the sick-room, having gained entrance to the house on the pretense of delivering medicine sent by the attending doctor. Frederick W. Seward, the elder son, sought to oust him, when he was felled by a blow from a revolver butt. G. T. Robinson, the male nurse in attendance, was slashed with a bowie knife and knocked senseless. Then the assassin sprang upon the Secretary as he lay

half unconscious, cut his face and throat with gashes and fled. Seward fell from his bed and was found insensible on the floor. His wounds were deep but not fatal, though he never fully recovered from the effect of the horrors of that awful night.

Andrew Johnson retained Seward as Secretary of State through his troubled term. Seward supported him loyally. He skillfully edged Napoleon III out of Mexico, while the Mexicans disposed of Maximillian. Seward's single greatest service to his country as Secretary of State was the purchase of Alaska from Russia for $7,200,000, the best real estate bargain in our history after Jefferson's $15,000,000 Louisiana purchase. The territory bought covered 577,390 square miles, pierced with great rivers, heavy with forests and touching the eternal arctic ice. The treaty was finished and signed at four o'clock on the morning of March 30, 1867, by Seward and Baron Stoeckl, the Russian minister at Washington. The nation did not thrill at the transaction. It was denounced as "Seward's folly" and made fun of by the pert paragraphers as a land of seals and snow. Russia had pressed the sale and Seward had bought, not in a prophetic spirit, but to oblige a friend who had lent large influence during the war. He did not foresee the millions in seals, fur, copper, gold, coal, and salmon that were to reward his venture. It stands to-day one of the richest of our national assets.

Rhodes charges him with being seized with the annexation fever. Perhaps he was. His next negotiation was to acquire the Danish Virgin Islands for $7,500,000 in gold, but the Senate refused the trade, while

the House by a two-thirds vote denounced the proposed transaction. Forty years afterwards Woodrow Wilson paid $25,000,000 for St. Thomas and St. Croix and the deal went through without a murmur. Seward also advocated the annexation of Hawaii and Santo Domingo and was turned down. We have since taken over Hawaii to our great advantage and "run" not only Santo Domingo, but Haiti the black half of Hispaniola. So he was wise and foreseeing where other men were stupid and blind.

The last complication Seward had to handle was the Fenian raid on Canada, operating from the United States. In this he won the commendation of Sir Frederick Bruce, British Minister at Washington for acting "when the moment for acting came, with a vigor, a promptness and a sincerity which call for the warmest acknowledgment."

When Johnson left the White House to make way for U. S. Grant, March 4, 1869, Mr. Seward, weary with his labors and weakened by the blows of the assassin, retired to private life. He was on the verge of three score and ten. His life had been devoted to public service and this was his first and last chance to look about him. He therefore made a journey around the world, not then an easy thing to do, and put his experiences into an interesting volume. Retiring, to Auburn, death called for him on October 10, 1872.

It may be said of him that although he failed of nomination for the Presidency, he never lost a cause. There *was* "a higher law than the constitution" and the conflict *was* "irrepressible" until it ended in blood!

XI

GEORGE BRINTON McCLELLAN

"LITTLE MAC"

"CAPTAIN McCLELLAN was quite young" wrote the wife of Jefferson Davis in her biography of that gentleman "and looked younger than he really was from an inveterate habit of blushing when suddenly addressed; his modesty, his gentle manner and the appositeness of the few remarks he made, gave us a most favorable impression of him." This was a view dating back to 1855, when the youthful officer had been selected by Davis, then Secretary of War in the Cabinet of President Franklin Pierce, to be one of three military observers sent to the Crimea, where France, England and Turkey were fighting Russia. He was, it appears, a favorite with the Secretary whose "appreciation of Captain McClellan," the lady continues, "was an instance of his happy faculty of discerning the merits of young people."

At the time these reflections were formed Captain McClellan was twenty-eight years old, having been born in Philadelphia, December 3, 1826. His father was Dr. George McClellan, a physician of standing. After a preparatory course at the school maintained by the University of Pennsylvania, he entered West Point in 1842, graduating with the Class of 1846, in

time to get a taste of the War with Mexico, as a Second Lieutenant of Engineers. Brave conduct at Contreras and Churubusco gave him the brevet of lieutenant and further gallantry at the storming of Chapultepec made him captain in like fashion.

From Mexico, together with his company of engineers, he was assigned to West Point and remained there as an instructor until 1851. In 1852, he accompanied Captain Randolph B. Marcy on an exploring trip to the Red River in the South, and from this duty spent his time, until sent abroad, in the Oregon territory on surveys for a possible Pacific railroad by that route.

His stay in the Crimea was supplemented with military inspections in various Continental States, with his fellow officers. McClellan wrote the report of their observations, which was hailed as "a model of concise and accurate information," adding luster to "an already brilliant reputation."

This high repute took him out of the army in January, 1857, where he was then a Captain of Cavalry. He resigned to become chief engineer of the new Illinois Central Railroad Company, which employed as one of its lawyers, a tall, ungainly man living in Springfield, named Abraham Lincoln, much given to reciting funny tales. McClellan was soon promoted to the vice-presidency of the line. From this post he was later transferred to the presidency of the Eastern Division of the Ohio and Mississippi railway. This gave him more prominence and a good salary for so young a man. He married Captain Marcy's daughter, Ellen Mary, May 22, 1860, and set up housekeeping in Cin-

cinnati, where his duties kept him busy and well rewarded until Fort Sumter was fired upon and taken.

Politically, he was a Democrat, and a follower of Stephen A. Douglas, whom he had met in Illinois, and kept some company with, during the debates with Lincoln. He thought Douglas far the abler man of the two, and as one who was pursuing the right path in dealing with the slavery question, observing correctly that while the Abolitionists were few in the North, Free Soilers were numerous. While not believing in slavery, he was willing the problem should work itself out, but when the South went to war to protect a right it had decided to be divine, he accepted the challenge in the belief that it was just as well to fight the issue out.

His trouble came when it befell that the fighting was to be done under the auspices of a new party, composed of many elements, and not clear as to its own purposes, or certain in its leadership.

William H. Seward, one of its chief promoters, had failed to get the nomination for Presidency. The man who won was the story-telling attorney for the Illinois Central, who certainly commanded no sort of respect in McClellan's mind. His own reputation led to his receiving several offers of command, one from Governor A. G. Curtin of Pennsylvania. While en route to Philadelphia he called on Governor William Dennison of Ohio, who caused the Legislature to amend the militia law so he could make McClellan a major-general to command the State Troops. This position was at once given him, April 23, 1861. May 13th, having sent the

commander-in-chief, General Winfield Scott some suggestions, he was given an appointment to command a Department of Ohio, covering that State, Indiana and Illinois, to which were soon added, parts of Western Virginia and Pennsylvania. He at once became tremendously busy. An old companion in arms, U. S. Grant, of Galena, Illinois, came to Cincinnati to ask for employment. McClellan was absent at the moment. Before he returned, Grant had accepted a State colonelcy from Governor Richard J. Ogelsby. "This was his good luck," McClellan observes, in telling his *Own Story* "for had I been there I would no doubt have given him a place on my Staff and he would probably have remained with me and shared my fate."

This is assuming a good deal when it comes to contrasting the careers of the two men. He took on large responsibilities, even conferring with Simon B. Buckner, commander of Kentucky's troops, on the question of guaranteeing the "neutrality" of that State, which he agreed to do if the rebels kept out of it. This caused much criticism. His friend, Simon, soon became anything but neutral himself. May 26, 1861, McClellan ordered an armed movement across the Ohio into Virginia, which he announced with imposing proclamations to both his army and the First Families. He had no trouble in occupying all of the country west of the Blue Ridge and north of the Kanawha. Henry A. Wise and J. B. Floyd, late Secretary of War, were in command of the Confederates and in no hurry to fight. He was making plans for conquering the mountain districts of the South, when Bull Run sent a scare all over

the North. It looked as though Washington must fall, and in the vast confusion McClellan was summoned to the capital, which he reached July 26, 1861, after riding sixty miles on horseback to catch a train. W. S. Rosecrans took over his command. In an affair at Rich Mountain, McClellan's men had scored a bit of success and the alarmed country turned to him as a savior. He evidently felt so himself. Indeed, adulation began when he left Ohio for the "front." He wrote his wife that he met with "a continued ovation along the road," while at every station "crowds had assembled to see the young general." Children were held up by mothers to take his hand; all sorts "cheering and crying 'God bless you.' " At Chillicothe the ladies gave him "about twenty beautiful bouquets" and "almost killed" him with kindness. He could hear them say: "He is our general." "Look at him, how young he is." "He will thrash them." Quite naturally he felt exalted. "One thing takes up a great deal of time" he writes again, "yet I cannot avoid it. Crowds of the country people who have heard of me and read my proclamations come in from all directions to thank me, shake me by the hand and look at their liberator, the general. Of course, I have to see them and talk to them. Well, it is a proud and glorious thing to see the whole people here, simple and unsophisticated, looking up to me as their deliverer from tyranny." "God is on our side" he wrote later.

A message came from Scott "Charmed with my energy, movements and success." McClellan thought it "pretty well for the old man." At the moment he valued "the old man's praises highly."

He got to Washington on July 26, 1861, and called on President Lincoln, who told him he was to command Washington and its defenses against the expected Beauregard and his victorious army. The order when issued instituted a "Division of the Potomac." He took hold the next day. August 4th, he had "restored order." Also confidence. He dined at a State dinner with the President, and was bored. August 8th, he had a "row" with Scott and was "pestered to death with Senators." August 9th, he wrote of Scott as "a great obstacle." The North was already voting Lincoln a failure and demanding a dictator. "I receive letter after letter" McClellan wrote his wife, "have conversation after conversation, calling on me to save the nation, alluding to the Presidency, dictatorship, etc." He called upon Heaven to note that he had no such aspiration, but "would cheerfully take the dictatorship and agree to lay down my life when the country is saved." "God grant that I may bring this war to an end and be permitted to spend the rest of my days with you" is his summing up to his wife.

Mutinous ninety day troops who wanted to go home now troubled him. He quelled a kick in the valiant Second Maine by ordering sixty-three of its members sent to Dry Tortugas for the rest of the war. A battalion of regular foot, a squadron of cavalry and a battery of the same sort was needed to calm the Seventy-ninth New York, famous afterwards as Col. Andrew D. Baird's Highlanders. The Scots soon became meek before this array. Official Washington, including Lincoln and Scott, "sit on the verge of the precipice, and cannot realize what they see."

That McClellan had a poor opinion of Lincoln crops out continually. "Long before the war" he observes in one instance, "when vice-president of the Illinois Central Railroad Company, I knew Mr. Lincoln, for he was one of the counsel for the company. More than once have I been with him in out of the way county seats where some important case was being tried, and, in the lack of sleeping accommodations, have spent the night in front of a stove listening to the unceasing flow of anecdotes from his lips. He was never at a loss, and I could never quite make up my mind how many he invented on the spur of the moment. His stories were seldom refined, but were always to the point."

The general was soon conscious of another thing. Recruiting was not kept up and it became clear that there was no hurry to end the war. He thought this due to indecision in the ruling party over dealing with slavery. The politicians were not certain that, with the sudden crushing of the South, the North would stand for the abolition of slavery. Seward and Chase, who desired it destroyed, stood in the way of action. Lincoln wanted, frankly, to save the Union, with or without slavery. So things slackened up. Ordinary obstacles were reinforced by those of deliberate neglect and delay.

The break with Scott came on September 27, 1861, when Mr. Lincoln sent a carriage for McClellan to meet with the Cabinet in the commanding general's office. "Before we got far" wrote McClellan, "the general raised a row with me." He kept cool, but Scott showed much aversion at parting and very reluctantly took the younger man's hand. "So we parted" McClel-

lan concludes: "As he threw down the glove, I took it up. I presume war is declared."

He continued to charm the army, if not its chief commander. "You have no idea how the men brighten up when I go among them" he wrote his wife. "I can see every eye glisten. Yesterday they nearly pulled me to pieces in one regiment. You never heard such yelling."

We got further glimpses of his views of Lincoln. Their earlier acquaintance, and its resulting opinion, was most unfortunate. It led to McClellan's developing a sense of contempt for the President, while he had no conception whatever of his greatness. Lincoln, too, probably suffered in his estimates by reason of his contacts with the general as an employe of the railroad. He comprehended his conceit and was uncertain of his abilities, which, after all, were very considerable. The first reference to Lincoln found in his published letters to Mrs. McClellan reads: "I enclose a card just received from 'A. Lincoln.' It shows too much deference to be seen outside."

One point in McClellan's quarrel with Scott was that he wanted to call his command the "Army of the Potomac," which he did. The old man preferred to stick to the department plan, justly suspecting, perhaps, that McClellan's greed for glory was at the bottom of the idea. He was certainly Napoleonic in all his conduct. Learning that a committee of New York bankers were urging the retirement of the incompetent Cameron as Secretary of War: "I interfered, and by my action with the President, no doubt saved him."

If he did, it was but briefly. Edwin M. Stanton was

soon in the chair. McClellan says Stanton consulted him about accepting what meant to him "a great sacrifice." McClellan advised his taking the place, but "instead of using his new position to assist me, he threw every obstacle in my way, and did all in his power to create difficulty and distrust between the President and myself. I soon found it impossible to gain access to him." Both men were Democrats at the moment. McClellan believed that if he "had been successful in his first campaign the war would perhaps, have terminated without the abolition of slavery," and that "the leaders of the radical branch of the Republican party preferred political control in one section of a divided country, to being in the minority in a restored Union." There is much fact to support the latter opinion. "Not only did these people desire the abolition of slavery" he observes, "but * * * in such a manner and under such circumstances that the slaves would at once be endowed with the electoral franchise, while the intelligent white man of the South should be deprived of it"—which was what happened, long enough to seal the "radicals" in power. To this he attributed the falldown of his peninsula campaign, a sound strategic move that came near to success.

The real cause of his failure was, however, his inability to "warm up" to the President, the reason for which, beyond doubt, dated back to their Illinois relationship. He simply would not accept the President at even part value. Once, in company with Secretary of State Seward, the President called at McClellan's headquarters on the Peninsula. The general was absent. They waited. When he returned he went upstairs,

though advised by an orderly that Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward were waiting to see him. They allowed some time to elapse, and then, thinking he might not know they were present, sent to appraise him. Curt word came back that he was taking a nap and could not be disturbed. That the tall rail splitter did not stride up the steps and yank the warrior from his couch, is a tribute to his great patience. A couple of well-placed kicks would have been ill-mannered, but they would have produced action. To avoid snubs, the President thereafter called war councils at the White House. On one occasion, at least, McClellan did not come. Those who did were indignant. "Never mind," said Mr. Lincoln more than indulgently. "I will hold Mr. McClellan's horse, if he will only bring us success."

It chanced that following the appointment of Stanton, McClellan fell ill with typhoid. Military motion in the North waited upon his recovery; not that of the South. McClellan did not appreciate the President's patience. "I have just been interrupted by the President and Secretary Seward" he remarks after recovering, "who had nothing very particular to say, except some stories to tell, which were, as usual, very pertinent, and some pretty good. I never in my life met any one so full of anecdotes as our friend. He is never at loss for a story apropos of any known subject or incident."

In October, 1861, there was some fighting at Leesburg. "Horrible butchery" McCellan called it. "Colonel Baker, who was killed, was in command and violated all military rules and precautions. It was

entirely unauthorized by me, and I am in no manner responsible for it."

When Scott retired on November 3, 1861, McClellan escorted him to the depot at four o'clock, A. M., in "pitch dark and a pouring rain," and at once assumed his shoes by the President's appointment. He had reached the top with amazing celerity. Yet his elevation produced no major actions on his part. Subordinate commanders were doing much at a distance, but the heart of the Confederacy was unassailed. He allowed Halleck to mistreat Grant after the victory of Fort Donelson, that meant so much to the North, and on March 12, 1862, was relieved of his duties as commander-in-chief and given that of the Army of the Potomac, in a hope that he could do something with the splendid force he had created. "The intelligence took me entirely by surprise" he states, "breaking the unity of action which it was my purpose to enforce." It was this unity of action idea that brought out Mr. Lincoln's famous letter of February 3, 1862, to wit:

Executive Mansion,
Washington, Feb. 3, 1862.

My dear Sir: You and I have distinct and different plans for a movement of the Army of the Potomac; yours to be done by the Chesapeake, up the Rappahannock to Urbana, and across land to the terminus of the railroad on the York river; mine to move directly to a point on the railroad southwest of Manassas.

If you will give satisfactory answers to the following questions I shall gladly yield my plans to yours:

1st. Does not your plan involve a greatly larger expenditure of time and money than mine?

2nd. Wherein is a victory more certain by your plan than mine?

3rd. Wherein is a victory more valuable by your plan than mine?

4th. In fact, would it not be less valuable in this; that it would break no great line of the enemy's communications, while mine would?

5th. In case of disaster would not a retreat be more difficult by your plan than mine?

Yours truly,
Abraham Lincoln.

Despite the prodding, all remained quiet along the Potomac. It would be tedious to recite the excuses of which the general avails himself in his memoirs. He did develop some motion by May. The peninsula was invaded, according to McClellan's plan. The Battle of Williamsburg was fought and McClellan won. He pushed on toward Richmond. Hanover Court House followed. Then Fair Oaks, a great fight. He was steadily winning his way, but his reports were "incorrectly printed" and "raised a tempest in a tea pot." He "never saw such petty feeling" in his life, as he had seen "developed during this unhappy war." These remarks indicate a weakness of the stomach. He was in great form, however, in ceremonies. The Bourbon princes, Count de Paris and de Joinville, were on his staff. General Prim came from Spain to observe McClellan's strategy. His camp was ornate and "military" to the last degree. Then followed the famous seven days' fighting, almost in sight of Richmond and complete victory. What stopped its course? This is McClellan's version:

Headquarters, Army of the Potomac,
Savage's Station, June 28, 1862, 12. 20 A. M.

Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War:

I now know the full history of the day. On this side of the river (the right bank) we repulsed several strong attacks. On the left bank our men did all that men could do, all that soldiers could accomplish, but they were overwhelmed by vastly superior numbers, even after I brought my last reserves into action. The loss on both sides is terrible. I believe it will prove to be the most desperate battle of the war. The sad remnants of my men behave as men. Those battalions who fought most bravely and suffered most are still in the best order. My regulars were superb, and I count upon what are left to turn another battle in company with their gallant comrades of the volunteers. Had I twenty thousand (20,000), or even ten thousand (10,000), fresh troops to use to-morrow, I could take Richmond; but I have not a man in reserve, and shall be glad to cover my retreat and save the material and personnel of the army.

If we have lost the day we have yet preserved our honor, and no one need blush for the Army of the Potomac. I have lost this battle because my force was too small.

I again repeat that I am not responsible for this, and I say it with the earnestness of a general who feels in his heart the loss of every brave man who has been needlessly sacrificed today. I still hope to retrieve our fortunes; but to do this the government must view the matter in the same earnest light that I do. You must send me very large reinforcements, but send them at once. I shall draw back to this side of the Chickahominy, and think I can withdraw all our material. Please understand that in this battle we have lost nothing but men, and those the best we have.

In addition to what I have already said, I only wish to say to the President that I think he is wrong in regarding me as ungenerous when I said that my force was too weak. I

merely intimated a truth which to-day has been too plainly proved. If, at this instant, I could dispose of ten thousand (10,000) fresh men, I could gain the victory to-morrow.

I know that a few thousand more men would have changed this battle from a defeat to a victory. As it is, the government must not and cannot hold me responsible for the result.

I feel too earnestly to-night. I have seen too many dead and wounded comrades to feel otherwise than that the government has not sustained this army. If you do not do so now the game is lost.

If I save this army now, I tell you plainly that I owe no thanks to you or to any other person in Washington.

You have done your best to sacrifice this army.

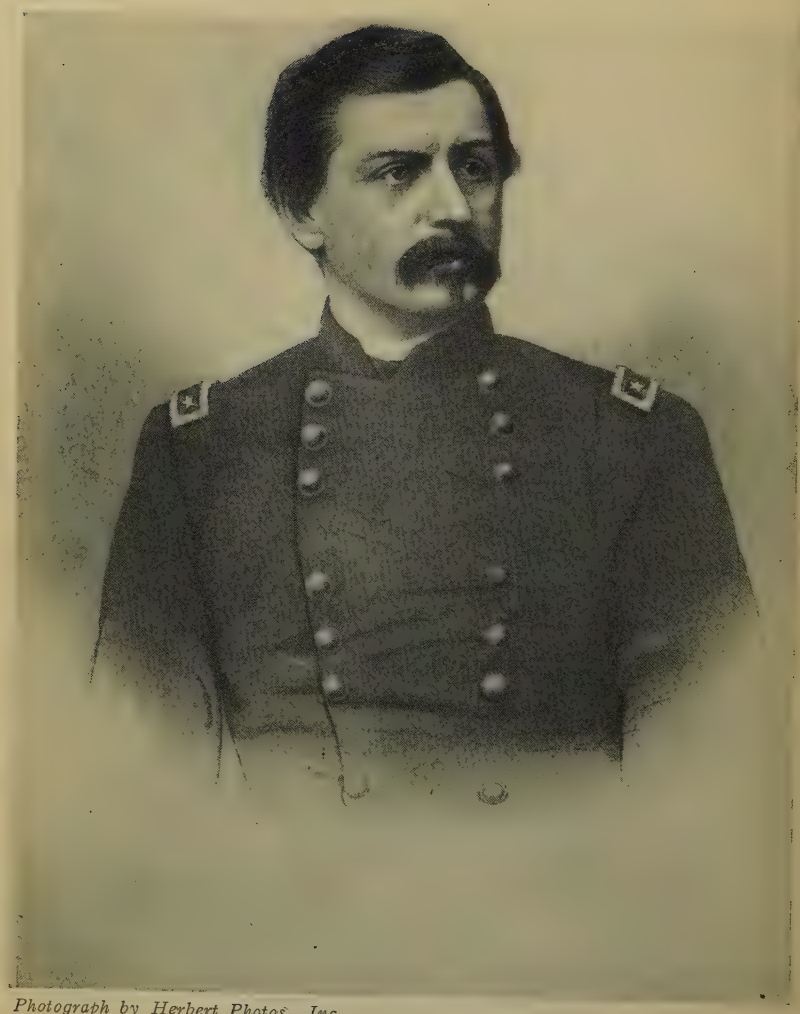
G. B. McClellan.
U. S. commander-in-chief.

The reflex of this was the appointment of General H. W. Halleck, "Two-faced" McClellan called him, and proves it. His own star was setting fast and he saw it lowering. There was certainly enough of battling. Harrison's Landing, Malvern Hill, Gaines' Mill, were all to his credit. Yet Washington gave him no hand. "I hear nothing from Washington" was his report to his wife on July 28, 1862, "and I begin to believe that they intend to and hope that I and my army may melt away under the hot sun."

He held, properly, that the war should be fought on the line of the James, when Washington abruptly shifted its front. The advantages gained were forfeited and the Army of the Potomac recalled from ground on which it had never been defeated. It was recentered at Alexandria. Lee's invasion of Maryland now upset Washington anew, and McClellan began

his last and brief campaign. South Mountain was a victory. "God bless you and all with you" wired Lincoln. Antietam followed. While Lee claimed victory, the palm was truly McClellan's. He inflicted the most damage and held the field. Of Lee's invading host 5,000 were prisoners, with 13 guns, 39 stands of colors and 15,000 small arms. The dead in gray lay thick upon the fair soil. But for Burnside's blundering it might well be believed that the Army of Northern Virginia could have been destroyed—perhaps in spite of it, had McClellan developed a vigor worthy of the occasion. He had done much, and in his mind it justified his neglect to do more. Of his generals Mansfield was dead; Hooker, Richardson and Sedgwick wounded. No army ever fought better or more bravely. They had earned a rest. This they took—with the result that a war, which might then and there have been ended, went on. Lee abandoned Maryland and turned back across the Potomac, to stay there until his last effort that ended much as at Antietam, at Gettysburg, where Meade did exactly as did McClellan in not following up his victory. He did not, however, lose his command.

Not one word came from Lincoln to McClellan after Antietam to hail the result and nothing but "plenty from Halleck, couched in almost insulting language." Clearly, his success was a disappointment at headquarters. He had taken the field on a verbal order from Lincoln. The Secretary of War and the bureaucrats would have none of it. McClellan trusted that he had been "re-established in the confidence of the best people of the nation." He thought he ought to treat



Photograph by Herbert Photos., Inc.

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN

Burnside very severely and probably would, as slow and not fit to command more than a regiment. Before he acted, the most amazing performance of the many that made the conflict a reproach to intelligence and patriotism, came to pass.

The battle ended on September 18th. McClellan deliberately "weighed" the chances. He concluded that if, by any mischance he was defeated, the way was open for Lee to march unmolested to the great cities of the North. He therefore decided upon caution, recuperation and the awaiting of reinforcements to repair his losses. The resulting outcry brushed away all just views of what he had really done. Mr. Lincoln, in company with O. M. Hatch, an Illinois friend, visited the camp. Viewing it from a commanding hilltop, Lincoln remarked:

"Hatch, what's all this?"

"That's the Army of the Potomac."

"No, Hatch, no. That's McClellan's bodyguard."

It was more than that. It was a splendidly-made and well-cared-for army, better than any that was to succeed it. Thus it will be perceived that old opinions affected the usually wise President.

On November 7, 1862, late in the evening, came an end to all his glory and of his military service to the United States. Ambrose E. Burnside entered his quarters with Stanton's Adjutant—Buckingham. They bore an order giving the command of the fine army he had made to the incompetent Burnside, with instructions for McClellan to repair to Trenton, N. J., and there await orders that were never to come. "They have made a great mistake," he commented to his wife.

"Alas for my poor country! I know in my inmost heart she never had a truer sevant."

In retrospect he could see that he had made errors, but "no great blunders"—which was entirely true. He departed on Monday, November 10, 1862, from Warrentown. "The officers and men felt terribly about the change," he informed Mrs. McClellan. "The men are very sullen and have lost their good spirits entirely. It made me feel very badly yesterday when I rode among them and saw how bright and cheerful they were and how glad they were to see me. Poor fellows! They did not know the change that had occurred."

Of his departure he made this rather curious chronicle: "I am very well and taking leave of the men. I did not know before how much they loved me, nor how dear they were to me. Gray-haired men came to me with tears streaming down their cheeks. I never before had to exercise so much self-control. The scenes of today repay me for all I have endured."

That he was more exultant than depressed can easily be imagined. Feeling himself much more popular than the President, and more competent than any general who had appeared or was likely to, he sat back complacently awaiting the call that he was certain would come. Events pointed strongly in that direction for many a despondent day. Burnside's blunders, resulting in the butchery of Fredericksburg, soon set him aside. General after general tried the task only to fail. Grant of whom much was expected had been stopped by Lee with terrible slaughter at Cold Harbor. The renominated Lincoln was depressed as the Democrats gathered at Chicago, August 29, 1864, with

the very definite determination of nominating McClellan. The convention contained many men of differing views, but none as to the candidate. War Democrats, Copperheads and Clement L. Vallandigham back from his comic exile into the Confederacy, were all among those present. August Belmont, the New York banker, agent for the Rothschilds, called the gathering to order and Horatio Seymour, of New York, became permanent chairman. He made a very impressive speech to the text that the war as carried on by Lincoln was a failure: "This administration cannot now save the Union if it would," he declared. "It has by its proclamation, by vindictive legislation, by display of hate and passion, placed obstacles in its pathway which it cannot overcome, and has hampered its own freedom by unconstitutional acts. This administration cannot save this Union, we can. Mr. Lincoln values many things above the Union; we put it first of all. He thinks a proclamation is worth more than peace. We think the blood of our people more precious than the edicts of a President. We demand no condition for the preservation of the Union. We are shackled with no hates, no prejudices, no passions."

Vallandigham put through a resolution demanding that a convention or some other unmilitary means be employed to bring about peace. On the first ballot McClellan received 202½ votes and his nomination was made unanimous. George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, was selected as the nominee for Vice-President. When the convention adjourned fate was seemingly against the North. From his shelf in Trenton, McClellan gazed complacently upon the dismal scene. He was be-

yond doubt a great favorite with his soldiers, and an able general. The Democrats of the North felt that he had been deposed because his fame made him a Presidential possibility, which was true, though swifter work with the sword would have saved him. Disaster after disaster had vindicated McClellan. If he had not succeeded, at least he had not failed.

To add to the popular discontent, the badly led Army of the Potomac made no secret of its dissatisfaction. It wailed with much fervor a mournful lay, written by Septimus Winner, composer of "Listen to the Mocking Bird," probably the most popular American melody, who possessed the art of concocting sobby songs. This was "Give Us Back Our Old Commander." It was forever echoing, to the deep annoyance of the several luckless generals. Winner also composed "Tenting To-Night on the Old Camp Ground, Waiting for the War to Cease," a song that greatly angered Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton. He thought Winner deserved hanging for writing it.

Lincoln was highly apprehensive of defeat. To capture "war" Democrats he dropped Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, as Vice-President, and took on Andrew Johnson of Tennessee. John C. Fremont had been nominated at a Cleveland convention, together with Charles Francis Adams, as an independent candidate. Lincoln removed his Postmaster-General, Montgomery Blair to propitiate him, and so secured his withdrawal. He annexed James Gordon Bennett, of the New York *Herald* by a hint that he would be offered the embassy to France and pulled the offish Horace Greeley into the fold by the intimations that he would

THE GREATEST VICTORY YET!

MAJOR-GENERAL McCLELLAN PUTS TO FLIGHT GENERAL INTEMPERANCE AND HIS ARMY.

McCLELLAN AND THE DRINK EVIL

A vicious attack upon "Little Mac," depicting him as a huge whiskey bottle, yet on the rampage against drinking in the army. From *Vanity Fair*, August 17, 1861

become Postmaster-General when the Cabinet was reorganized. This brought the two most potential papers in America to his support. The success of Sherman's March to the Sea, offset in a measure Grant's bloody failures that ended in the stalemate at Petersburg. The Lincoln outlook grew brighter toward election day. Yet there can be little doubt that the President was saved by the votes of the soldiers in the field, carefully counted in his interest. The electoral college gave Lincoln 212 votes, McClellan but 21. But, on the popular vote the President led the general by but 407,342 votes. The totals were respectively 2,216,067 and 1,808,725. Kentucky, New Jersey and Delaware were the only States supporting McClellan. Maryland was dragooned by military under Lew Wallace and in no sense was the contest fair. Defeat would have saved Lincoln's life and shattered his fame. Would McClellan have compromised with the Confederacy? Probably.

Thus McClellan's star set. He resigned his commission in the army election day, November 9, 1864. Following his defeat he lived much in Dresden, where his son, in time to become Mayor George B. McClellan of New York, was born. Returning home, he was elected Governor of New Jersey as a Democrat, in 1877. His term over he again found it more agreeable to live abroad. He died at Maywood, his home on Orange Mountain, N. J., in the night following October 28, 1885, of an acute heart attack, sitting in his favorite arm chair. They buried him at Trenton.

XII

HORATIO SEYMOUR

DISTINGUISHED DEMOCRAT

NEW YORK has furnished the country with some of its most distinguished Democrats among whom must be listed Horatio Seymour, of Utica. He was a small-town product having come into life at Pompey, Onondaga County, May 31, 1810. He was admitted to the bar in 1832, and became active in the fervid Jacksonian political school operated in his state by Martin Van Buren. In 1841 he went to the state legislature; in 1842 he was elected mayor of Utica. Continuing his legislative career he became speaker of the House in 1845 on the side of William L. Marcy, and against Silas Wright. Van Buren was now a Free-Soiler, but Seymour stuck to the Democracy of the Marcy brand. He was rewarded by being nominated for Governor in 1850 against Washington Hunt.

Hunt was a Whig in name but an Abolitionist and anti-renter, the last term being applied to those who supported the people against the exactions of the land companies and of great estates like that handed down by Patroon Van Renssalaer. The New York *Herald* supported Seymour, who had strong backing in the city, but "up-state" elected Hunt. In 1852 Seymour

tried it again, this time with success. Following the Washingtonian movement Prohibition gained enough strength in the legislature, under the leadership of a senator, Myron H. Clark, who kept a hardware store in Canandaigua, to secure the passage of a law stopping the sale of liquor in the state. This Seymour vetoed.

In the interim politics became a much mixed affair. The Know-Nothings, an ancient form of the modern Ku Klux Klan were in force, Prohibition was stronger after the veto and the Whigs were divided on slavery, though most of them followed Seward. The party was on its last legs, and out of this muddle in 1854 came the Republicans. Seward and Weed effected a fusion with the Drys and nominated Clark with Henry J. Raymond, editor of the New York *Times* as Lieutenant Governor. The Democrats split on Free-Soil, one branch endorsing the Kansas-Nebraska bill, the other upholding the policies of Franklin Pierce. The last lot renominated Seymour; the Know-Nothings put up Daniel Ullman. Being a secret order like the Klan, no one could correctly figure their number. The biggest estimate credited them with 60,000. They polled 122,282 votes. The Free-Soil Democrat Greene C. Bronson had 33,850, Seymour 156,495 and Clark 156,804, winning by a plurality of 309. The legislature was again dry and once more passed a Prohibition act. It was signed by Clark and was in effect six months, when the courts declared it unconstitutional.

Seymour remained pent up in Utica, but took active part in state politics. I have a memory of a tale told by my old friend Lucien Brock Proctor, long secretary

of the New York State Bar Association, concerning a trip to Elmira with the Governor to attend a Democratic State Convention. The party travelled by the Erie and Chemung canals. Seymour had chartered a brand-new canal-boat, fitted it up with cots, a cook and a barrel of rye. A pleasant time was had by all. He related another story of interest. In that era arson was a capital offense. Proctor had for a client a colored boy in Dansville, who was convicted of burning a barn out of spite and sentenced to be hanged. He took the case to Seymour, then Governor, who declined to intervene. Taking the doleful tidings to the negro's cell, he broke the news as gently as he could; but concluding,

"Jim, you must be hanged."

"My God, Mr. Proctor" cried the boy, "I don't see how I can ever live through it!"

Proctor hastened back to Albany and told the story. Seymour laughed, "We shall have to fix it so he does," and made it a life sentence. In a few years the law was modified and "Jim" was pardoned. A thorough going Democrat of high principles and a gentleman beside, Seymour stood in shining contrast to Thurlow Weed and his law selling associates. He was not shifty as Seward was accused of being and he kept good company. There were those who hoped he might be nominated at the Charleston Convention in 1860. When secession broke he was unquestionably for the Union which did not mean the endorsement of the Republican party as most of its members came to believe. He felt it was feasible to be loyal without abandoning Jefferson, and that in the heated time, under the great war powers of the President, there was all the more

need of a cool-headed, intelligent opposition. This he strove to supply.

In 1862 he was nominated and elected governor. His victory came upon the heels of the Emancipation proclamation which had the effect that Weed and Seward feared. Weed was sure the party would be wrecked. He was vindicated to an extent by the election of results that followed, one of which was the victory of Seymour. It was a severe set back for the administration but a good thing in itself. Seymour did not believe in the dragonnades of Stanton, the suspension of the habeas corpus or the filling of jails with citizens, suspected only of disloyalty. Nor did he believe in the substitute system that allowed the well-to-do to buy themselves out of the ranks. He also believed in conserving the constitutional rights of the states that remained in the Union, something Stanton and Seward had become careless about.

In his inauguration address Seymour was free to criticize the conduct of the war, though he had spoken on the side of the North during the campaign. Men who chose to be Democrats had a hard time in the community. They were "Copperheads"—venomous snakes to the fervid patriots. Yet the evils Seymour complained of were real, acts of despotism that did not require acceptance as a means of winning the war. If the South had abandoned the Union for Constitutional reasons, there was no reason why the document should have been perverted and ignored in the North, as it was in the fury of ill-feeling and governmental aggrandizement. As James Ford Rhodes asserts: "The course which he (Seymour) laid out, was in the main

the right one for the opposition, and, while his message was exasperating, there is little in it that ought to receive condemnation at the judgment bar of history."

Indeed the cause of the North looked dark. Peace moves were in the air. The North was tired of slaughter and defeat. Critical convocations were held in Ohio, at Springfield, Illinois, Lincoln's home town, and at Albany where Seymour was heard impressively. His influence was great and naturally his stand alarmed the Administration, which was saved in the nick of time by the victories at Port Hudson, Vicksburg and Gettysburg. These checked the "war is a failure" cry, but did not serve to stop the opposition to the draft which broke out in a tenement section of New York on July 13, 1863. The reason lay in alleged inequalities which impressed the poor and gave the fortunate a chance to escape donning uniforms. Rioting began on Monday and the mob soon had the city at its mercy. Governor Seymour was at Long Branch for an outing. He hurried to the city and on Tuesday addressed a disorderly crowd in front of the City Hall, around which they gathered in an attempt to destroy the *Tribune* office and lynch Horace Greeley. Endeavoring to oil the troubled water he made an error that plagued him all his life by beginning: "My friends." Then he continued: "I have come down here from the quiet of the country to see what was the difficulty—to learn what all this trouble was concerning the draft. Let me assure you that I am your friend! (Uproarious cheers.) You have been my friends," (Yes, yes, that's it. We are and will be again.) "and

now I assure you fellow citizens that I am here to show you a test of my friendship. (Cheers.) I wish to inform you that I have sent my adjutant general to Washington to confer with the authorities there, and to have this draft suspended and stopped. (Vociferous cheers.) I now ask you as good citizens, to wait for his return, and I assure you that I will do all that I can to see that there is no inequality and no wrong done anyone. I wish you to take good care of all property, as good citizens, and see that every person is safe. The safe keeping of property and persons rests with you, and I charge you to disturb neither. It is your duty to maintain the good order of the city, and I know you will do it. I wish you now to separate as good citizens, and sometime assemble again should you wish to do so; I ask you to leave all to me now, and I will see to your rights. Wait till my adjutant general returns from Washington, and you shall be satisfied."

The good citizens "separated" to form new mobs, destroy more property and effect new outrages. In another day the military took over the city and showered it with rifle fire. Probably 1,000 people were killed or wounded, mostly rioters. Several millions of dollars worth of property were destroyed: the victims of the mobs were mainly negroes.

The negro orphan asylum at Fifth Avenue and Fiftieth Street was burned. Some fifty structures were destroyed and many more pillaged. It was a terrible affair in all features and the Governor's course redounded greatly to his discredit. The Draft however was stopped, to be resumed and peacefully carried

out with some sensible modifications a few weeks later. Victory seemed nearer to the North and opposition died down for the time being; to recur less violently the next year after Grant's failure in his "all summer" campaign and the impasse at Peterburg.

"Copperhead" papers like the New York *News* and *Express* sustained the Governor and invited him to call out the militia to stop the illegal drafting. He was severely criticized in other quarters. Richard Grant White in "The New Gospel of Peace" a satire written in Biblical style dubbed him "Seemer," also "Say More" because "he could say more and mean less than any other man" in the country, and "See More" because there was no man "who could see more ways of making trouble for others and getting out of it himself."

Yet no "war governor" had responded so promptly and fully as Seymour when President Lincoln called for troops to repel Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania. "I will spare no efforts to send you troops at once" he advised Secretary of War Stanton, and he did not. New York played a noble part in the repulse of the Confederates on that decisive field. The wise and prudent President in acceding the cessation of the draft recognized Seymour's power and did not doubt his underlying patriotism. He wrote him a personal letter desiring to get "better acquainted," hoping thereby to arrive at "a better understanding" in their mutual desire to maintain the "nation's life and integrity." Seymour replied formally, promising a public communication of length, in which he would give his views

concerning "the condition of our unhappy country." Before he could frame this C. L. Vallandigham, preacher of peace, was arrested, tried by court martial and deported to the Confederacy. Seymour denounced this as an unwarranted proceeding and never wrote the promised reply. Arbitrary arrests grew in number and Seymour froze up. He was not alone in his indignation, so fine a gentleman as Robert C. Winthrop endorsing his view. When McCellan was nominated Seymour presided at the Chicago Convention. He also went on the stump and made his influence felt. The suppression of newspapers had accompanied the arrests. "In Great Britain" asserted Seymour in one of his addresses, "the humblest hut in the Kingdom, though it may be open to the winds and the rains of heaven, is to the occupant a castle impregnable even to the monarch, while in our country the meanest and most unworthy underling of power is licensed to break within the sacred precincts of our homes."

This was only too true. Fort Lafayette in New York harbor and Fort Warren in that of Boston, were crowded with alleged sympathizers with the South. Men paid off grudges by securing the arrest of neighbors, few or none of whom were ever tried. They were simply caged during the conflict or until Lincoln himself could be reached and his sense of justice touched. Seymour was defeated when renominated in 1864. The war ended and he kept himself in quiet repose at Utica where he was greatly esteemed, but from which he was to be once more drafted into the limelight.

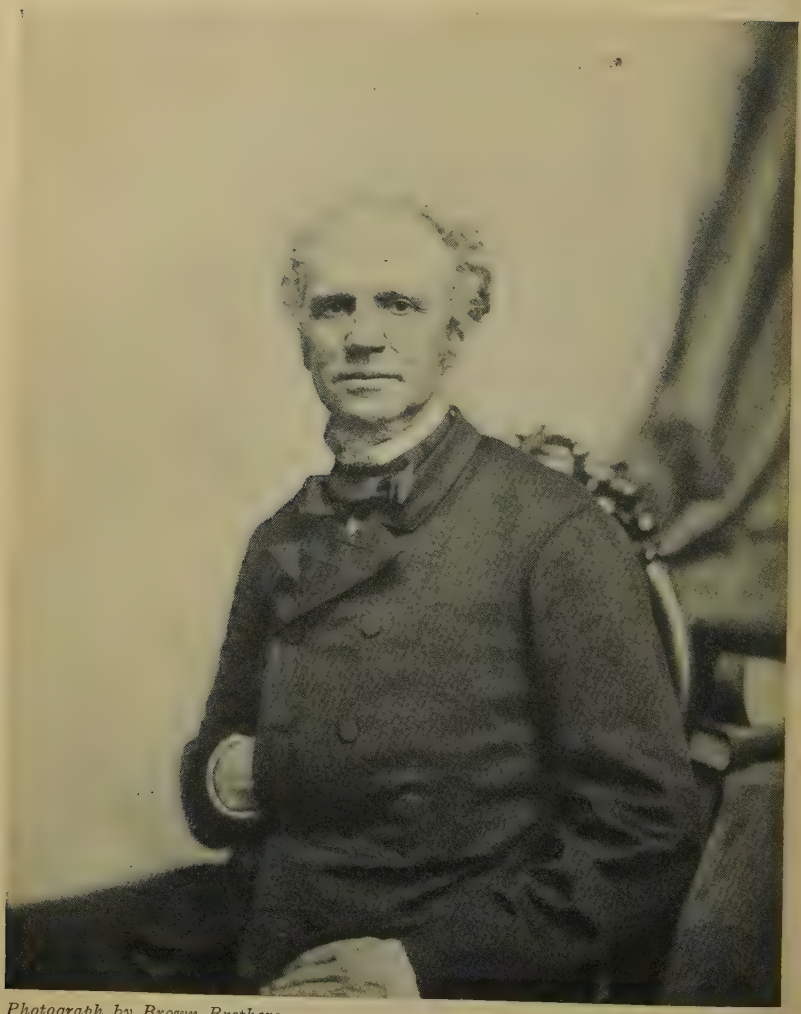
The Democratic National Convention of 1868 was

held in Tammany Hall, New York, July 4, 1868. It was a notable occasion. For the first time since 1860 the South was represented, and by Confederate generals, in some number at least, including such figures as Nathan Bedford Forrest of Tennessee, Wade Hampton of South Carolina, and William Preston of Tennessee. Other eminent ex-Confederates were R. Barnwell Rhett (born Smith) who as editor of the Charleston *Courier* had been a foremost fire-eater, Benjamin H. Hill of Georgia, Zebulon B. Vance, of North Carolina, A. H. Garland, of Arkansas, Randall L. Gibson, and James B. Eustis, of Louisiana, and Thomas S. Bocock, of Virginia, ex-speaker of the Confederate Congress.

Northern Democrats of note in attendance were George H. Pendleton of Ohio ("Gentleman George" they called him), Allen G. Thurman, from the same state, William R. Morrison of Illinois, Clement L. Vallandigham, the much talked about peace man from Ohio in the war period, James A. Bayard of Delaware, and Joseph E. McDonald and D. W. Voorhees, of Indiana.

The South had sent out a call voiced by Wade Hampton, to secure Democratic support in that region which was under reconstruction and a long ways from "solid." He pointed out that hopes of getting back where they belonged lay solely with the Democrats. This was made good use of by the supporters of Grant in the campaign that followed.

Henry M. Palmer, of Wisconsin called the Convention to order. Then Horatio Seymour was made permanent Chairman. James G. Blaine in his *Twenty*



Photograph by Brown Brothers

HORATIO SEYMOUR

Years of Congress, says of Seymour, apropos of this occasion: "His admirers looked to him as a political sage, who, if not less partisan than his associates was more prudent and politic in his counsels. No other leader commanded so large a share of the confidence and devotion of his party. No other equalled him in the art of giving a velvety touch to its worst and most dangerous blows, or of presenting the work of its adversaries in the most questionable guise. It was his habit to thread the mazes of economic and fiscal discussion, and he was never so eloquent or apparently so contented as when he was painting a vivid picture of the burdens under which he imagined the country to be suffering, or giving a fanciful picture of what might have been if Democratic rule had continued. From the beginning of the war he had illustrated the highest accomplishments of political oratory in bewailing, like the prophetess of old, the coming woes which never came. In his address on the present occasion he arraigned the Republican party for imposing oppressive taxes, for inflicting upon the country, a depreciated currency, and imposing a military despotism."

These are the tributes of an extremely partisan Republican, whose party had quite truly done all the things noted. Moreover, before the convention so set in motion, as a conspicuous candidate was Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase, who had, as Secretary of the Treasury under Lincoln, poured out the flood of Greenbacks that "depreciated the currency," and who was later to render a decision that they were not legal tender. Pendleton had brought to the Hall what was

to be called the "Ohio idea," "that all the obligations of the government, not payable by these express terms in coin, ought to be paid in lawful money." That is the money which everybody but the government had to take if they wanted any. Blaine brazenly termed this a "distinct adoption of the Greenback heresy." The soldiers who risked their lives to save the country, and had families to feed, were paid with it whatever value it might at the moment have. Naturally many people could not see why the government should exact gold for all its obligations, and refuse to accept its own currency.

It seemed certain that Mr. Pendleton would be nominated with this plank in the platform. Andrew Johnson, who had so narrowly escaped impeachment, was also a candidate and received 65 votes on the first ballot. Pendleton had 105. Others were Judge Sanford E. Church, of New York, 34; Asa Packer, of Pennsylvania, a first class magnate, 24; James E. English, of Indiana, 16, while General Winfield Scott Hancock scored 33. Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana developed some strength on the third day. So far fate did not point to Seymour, who indeed had repeatedly declared that he was not a candidate. Pendleton's highest vote was 159½. The tide turned toward Hancock, who received 144½. This was on the eighteenth ballot. The convention then adjourned. Under ordinary circumstances it would be assumed that Hancock was the country's choice. "But" observes Blaine in malicious comment, "it was not expected. It was indeed against the logic of the situation that a Democratic convention could at that time select a dis-

tinguished Union general, of conservative record and cautious mind, for a Presidential candidate."

New York was for Chase, to whom Pendleton was firmly opposed, as was reasonable for the father of the "Ohio idea." He therefore executed the clever manœuvre of throwing his following to Seymour, whose name had not hitherto been mentioned in the balloting. Ohio withdrew Pendleton's name when the convention reconvened, and after one indecisive ballot, in which it had not shared, the Ohio delegation came in shouting for Seymour. He dissented from the chair but New York swung to him. State after state followed and on the twenty-second roll call he was unanimously nominated. William Preston, an ex-Confederate Brigadier, named Frank P. Blair, of Missouri, for Vice-President, and Wade Hampton seconded. He was nominated.

The October elections, though close in some instances, were adverse. This was laid to the overweight of Blair, who was considered Southern, because he had visited Richmond on a mission of peace, with Lincoln's consent towards the end of the war. The New York *World* edited by Manton Marble loudly demanded his retirement. He stuck, however.

Seymour took the stump in an endeavor to recover lost ground, making some strong appeals and a good impression, "delivering" remarks Blaine "at least one extended speech each day at some central point, and speaking frequently by the way; his journey fastened the attention of the country and amply illustrated his versatile and brilliant intellectual powers. No man was more seductive in speech, or more impressive in se-

date and stately eloquence. With his art of persuasion he combined rare skill in evading difficult questions while preserving an appearance of candor. His speeches were as elusive and illusive as they were smooth and graceful. * * * He labored to convince the country that if the Democrats elected the President they would still be practically powerless, and that apprehension of disturbance and upheaval from their success was unfounded. He sought also to draw the public thought away from this subject and give it a new direction by dwelling on the cost of government, the oppression of taxes, the losses from the disordered currency and the various evils that had followed the various trials and perils through which the country had passed." Despite his skillful presentations the war-days were too near, the soldier vote too heavy, and the "reconstructed" states too republican at the moment. Of the eight but two, Georgia and Louisiana chose Seymour electors. These were assailed as due to fraud and violence, but finally counted. Grant had a popular majority of 309,588 and 214 electors. Seymour had but eighty. He carried New York and New Jersey, nevertheless, by leads of 60,000 and 10,000 respectively. Grant's lead in Indiana was but 961. California was republican by vote of 514. Oregon went for Seymour. The Republican vote in Ohio was cut down heavily and the Democrats captured Philadelphia by about 200 votes. Virginia, Texas and Mississippi not being "reconstructed" were excluded from the voting. Had Seymour been able to attain the vote of a "solid South" he would have been elected.

Blaine thought Seymour "unpleasantly associated

with the draft" in the public mind. It did not affect him in New York or in New Jersey. The real cause of his defeat was the situation in the South. Blaine truly observes that the result "was not comforting to the thoughtful men who interpreted its true significance and comprehended the possibilities to which it pointed." He continues: "The Republican victory of 1868 led to the incorporation of impartial suffrage in the Reconstruction laws."

The more accurate Senator William M. Stewart would have inserted "scare" in explanation, instead of "victory." He was the father of the Fifteenth Amendment and frankly gave as his reason for securing the franchise for the negro as insuring the party his vote. Claiming to represent the wealth and intelligence of the country it only saved its power by enfranchising the blacks—a fitting return probably for their centuries of unrequited toil, but hardly a class representing the ideals of the intelligent, or capable of being given any equality whatever, save at the ballot box, which the South still denies them, despite the Constitution. The basis for the "scare" lay deeper even than the vote for Seymour. The number of Democrats in the 38th Congress had been increased from forty-four to seventy-five, leaving the Republicans with but twenty majority.

For the rest of his life Mr. Seymour was content to play the part of a sage. He died at Utica, February 12, 1886.

XIII

HORACE GREELEY

"OLD WHITE HAT"

IN passing from polemist to politician Horace Greeley took a sorry step. His pen had made the New York *Tribune* the most powerful paper in the land. His political errors well-nigh wrecked it and killed himself. Matchless as an editor he proved the poorest sort of a hand in politics. With a knowledge of affairs and public men that was unequalled he was potent with his pen, but when he came personally into the game he failed. Yet he thought he knew politics. Opposed to the extension of slavery he was in a class by himself. Believer in protection he fell in readily with the Whigs and behind Henry Clay. In the construction of the Republican party his share was that of a compelling voice. The practical management was in other hands. He formed an effective alliance in New York with Thurlow Weed, owner of the Albany *Journal,* and William H. Seward, of Auburn, Governor and United States Senator. Weed was a shrewd manipulator of men, a lobbyist who took rewards for his services and made himself generally useful. Seward took the lead in the North against the political power of slavery. The three got on well until Greeley perceived that he was being left out on all the rewards

and honors. His soul sighed for recognition, for an invitation to office, which it may be doubted if he would have accepted or long held. But the bitterness of disappointment in being overlooked seized him and he dissolved the partnership in an extraordinary letter written to Seward November 11, 1854, following a state election that had landed Henry J. Raymond, editor of the rival New York *Times,* in the Lieutenant Governor's chair, where he was placed by the choice of the other partners. Greeley coveted recognition. If Raymond had been defeated he would probably have kept on with the concern, but his triumph was a last straw in what Greeley regarded as a series of humiliations at the hands of his associates. It would appear that neither of them was aware of his inside longings, justly believing that his prestige as editor of the chief party paper was glory enough—which it was.

The connection between the three began with the Whig expansion that followed the panic of 1837. Greeley was struggling with his weekly *New Yorker,* and when Weed offered him a chance to edit a Whig sheet out of Albany he accepted at $1,000 for a year's editing. Victories followed, but Greeley got nothing beyond his petty wage. Others of the faithful were well rewarded with office and opportunity. In 1840 he edited the *Log Cabin* for Weed and Seward. Here again he was unrewarded in victory, but acquired somehow the means to start the *Tribune* in 1841. From that time on he needed help from no one, and could readily have repudiated his partners, but instead served them faithfully and without return until the fateful date in 1854.

His career had been typically American, hampered though he was by being a youthful prodigy and without business instincts. Success came to him without the usual devices to allure it. Born at Amherst, N. H., February 3, 1811, son of a very poor farmer, Zaccheus Greeley, he underwent the usual experiences of poverty on a hard soil. Horace was a little lad, noted for precocity in learning and interest in reading. The family shuffled to Vermont, where Zaccheus "lumbered" and earned money enough to get on after a fashion. Then he felt a call to Western Pennsylvania and moved on, leaving Horace behind as an apprentice in the office of the *Northern Spectator* at East Poultney, Vermont, where he soon became useful and rather a character in the small town. He was the best debater in the local debating society and was much liked locally. The paper went out of business in 1830 and Horace followed the family to the new habitat in Wayne, Pennsylvania. Chopping wood as a business was not to his taste and he took to the road as a printer. The profession was then peripatetic, and he landed at last in New York, August 17, 1831. John T. West, printer at 85 Chatham Street, gave him a job, setting up a Testament in Pearl, the smallest type in use at which by close application he was able to earn $1 per day. Better openings followed. He saved some money and with Francis V. Story, on a capital of $200, started a print shop of his own. This was soon busy. A weekly paper the *New Yorker* was the next venture. It achieved a good circulation among subscribers who were pretty slow pay, but kept him going. The campaign sheets noted were additions to his income

Photograph by Gramstorff Bros., Inc.

HORACE GREELEY

reputation. The New York *Tribune* was the outcome.

The new daily gave his great brain the employment it deserved and the changing era in politics together with the expansion of the nation west opened a wide field for the weekly edition, which in circulation and influence outfooted all rivals. It made Greeley known wherever the settlers ranged. Supporting Henry Clay, it was a Whig organ, but its keys were manipulated solely by its editor. Thus it was the paper played a remarkable part in political affairs. His support of Fourierism and Communism caused much criticism, but failed to check his headway. When these dropped out of sight national issues gave him leverage with which he lifted much.

When the notice of dissolution was served on Weed and Seward both were inclined to take it as a piece of passing petulance and tried together to smooth the ruffled feathers. In this they were not successful. Thereafter Greeley went his own way leaving the pair to operate together. "I trust," he said in the dissolution notice, referring to Seward, "I shall not be found in opposition to you." This hope was not fulfilled. The two men never met but once thereafter, and that in church during 1859. The relationship was completely severed. He assumed the editorial leadership of the opponents of the extension of slavery to the Kansas-Nebraska territory, was strong for the Douglas doctrine of Popular Sovereignty and made Free-Soil a slogan, North, East and West, wherein the circulation of the weekly *Tribune* rose to 250,000 copies per issue.

Despite his complaint to Seward, Greeley had been

recognized a bit. In 1848 he was elected to fill a vacancy in the New York City congressional delegation caused by the unseating of David S. Jackson. The term was short but it gave ample occasion for demonstrating that the place was not one to be filled by an aggressive editor. Fellow members held him to account for all that appeared to their disadvantage in the *Tribune,* and considered it unfair that he should back up his own efforts on the floor with the power of the paper. He made a crusade against the abuse of congressional charges for mileage that caused a pretty stir and made him many enemies. Being a printer he considered $7.50 a column for printing the debates in the *Union* and *National Intelligencer,* excessive and forced a cut. Naturally their conductors failed to appreciate the attention. He tried to stop flogging in the navy and failed; to cut out bonuses to congressional employes and failed. Final unpopularity was achieved by a measure to limit the sale of public lands to actual settlers. This also failed, but became the germ of the Homestead Act in time.

The ninety day sentence served he came back to his desk, convinced despite rebuffs, that on the whole Congress was pretty honest, though no place for him. He did not try to go back.

In the account of Seward's career, Greeley's part in his defeat for the Presidential nomination has been detailed. He was offish toward the successful Lincoln—if anything he had been more friendly to Douglas than to his rival, whom he had met during his term in Congress without being especially impressed. He believed however that he should have been offered the

Postmaster-Generalship which went to Montgomery Blair, and was disgruntled accordingly. During all the trying war-time he was a thorn in Lincoln's side with carping criticism and continuous urgings that caused some serious mistakes. While the *Tribune's* cry "Forward to Richmond" was not of his fathering, it led to the disaster at Bull Run for which he received full credit and an attack of brain fever.

In 1861, Seward having become Secretary of State, Greeley was a candidate for the position of U. S. Senator for New York. William M. Evarts vied with him in the race. The outlook was promising until his old partner Thurlow Weed took charge of the wires and defeated both, giving the prize to Ira Harris. When the term of Preston King expired in 1863, Greeley again essayed the Senatorship. Again the wiley Weed intervened and secured the seat for E. D. Morgan. He served in the constitutional convention of 1867 and ran for Congress in 1868 from the so-called Cherry Hill district of New York adjacent to the *Tribune* office, only to be badly beaten. In 1869 the Republicans ran him for State Comptroller. William F. Allen, of Oswego, Democrat, defeated him. It was a Democratic year in New York, the party capturing all state offices. In 1870 he once more ran for Congress in New York to be defeated by Samuel S. Cox ("Sunset") a newcomer from Ohio.

He supported Lincoln for a second term with reluctance, rather in response to a hint that he would now get the Postmaster-Generalship. Lincoln was killed by John Wilkes Booth before he made any effort to make good. Greeley considered the promise of no

value. His anger was enhanced by the proffer of the French mission to James Gordon Bennett who had shifted also on a hint that something might come his way. He, however, declined the distinction.

The death of Lincoln threw the party into confusion. The term filled out by Andrew Johnson took on the aspect of that of William Henry Harrison as completed by John Tyler. Johnson was a Democrat and while he hated and wished to hang the Southern leaders, had nothing in harmony with the hard-boiled specimens who now assumed party control. Zachariah Chandler, Thaddeus Stevens, Benjamin F. Butler and Benjamin F. Wade, were hardly the sort to get on well with the President and did not. The attempt at impeachment and all the incidental turmoil remain blots upon history.

When it came time to select Johnson's successor the party had run out of Presidential timber, with which it had never been any too well supplied. Seward had retired, broken under the blows of a would-be-assassin. Charles Sumner, a commanding figure, did not fit the crowd in control. The South was still a scarecrow and the leaders, filled with fear that it might again leap into the saddle, gave the negro suffrage. In casting about for a man who could win and save the country once more, the powers picked on Lieutenant General U. S. Grant. He accepted and Greeley supported him in the canvass, making some speeches, but having within a great mistrust and perhaps some disgust at having been over-looked himself. If he ever had a chance it was thoroughly killed by his action in signing the bail-bond of Jefferson Davis, in May

THE CAT'S-PAW.—ANY THING TO GET CHESTNUTS.

GREELEY IN THE CLUTCH OF TAMMANY

A characteristic cartoon by Nast, which appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, July 22, 1876. The Tiger bears the likeness of Tweed

1867. Nineteen other men joined him in so doing, but upon Greeley alone fell the popular wrath. The weekly *Tribune* lost 200,000 of its 250,000 readers.

Grant's administration, despite his own honesty and sagacity of character speedily became a scandal. Roscoe Conkling, Senator from New York took command of the ship and the "boys" helped themselves generously. Charles Sumner was chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs and was soon in collision out of which Sumner lost his chairmanship and his friend, John Lothrop Motley the English mission. Old army friends dipped their fingers deep in the butter and made trouble. The influence of Benjamin F. Butler replaced that of Sumner and Massachusetts.

By the time Grant's renomination was due the party of Lincoln was badly split. Editors of the weight of Greeley, Samuel Bowles, of the Springfield *Republican,* William Cullen Bryant, of the New York *Evening Post,* Joseph Medill, of the Chicago *Tribune,* and Murat Halstead, of the Cincinnati *Commercial* turned against the President. In Missouri, independent Republicans scored a great victory, electing B. Gratz Brown, Governor. The large German element led by Carl Schurz, Dr. Emil Pretorious and their young associate Joseph Pulitzer, all of the *Westliche Post,* was in the main responsible. The effect of this victory was wide-spread. An independent Republican party in the nation was organized and met in convention at Cincinnati, on May 1, responding to a call sent out from Missouri dated January 24th. Though Greeley had been plainly enough Anti-Grant in the *Tribune* the Republicans, like Seward and Weed before them,

did not take his hostility seriously and none deemed he would leave the party and follow the new schism. From his acquaintance with Ohio, Whitelaw Reid, the *Tribune's* managing editor, was sent to Cincinnati to watch and operate as might be needed. He took with him the intent to nominate Greeley and thereby make himself head of the *Tribune*.

The convention was called to order by Stanley Matthews of Ohio. Carl Schurz was made permanent chairman and Joseph Pulitzer, secretary. Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts, Lincoln's minister to England, and son of President John Quincy Adams, was the leading candidate. Bowles and Bryant were Free-Traders and Greeley was a protectionist. To pave the way for him Reid kept the tariff out of the platform to the deep annoyance of his opponents. The platform as built scathingly arraigned the administration of Grant.

When it came to balloting Adams led with 203 votes, Greeley had 147, Lyman Trumbull 100, B. Gratz Brown 95, David Davis 92½, and Andrew G. Curtin 62. Trumbull and Curtin were Democrats, either of whom would have been highly acceptable to the country. Bowles withdrew, Greeley's vote rose to 239, and Curtin dropping out gave Adams 233, on the second try. Adams led on the third count 279 to Greeley's 258. On the fourth Greeley lost 7 and Adams held his own. On the fifth the 258 held to Greeley while the Adams total reached 309. The situation was smashed up by a row between the Trumbull and Davis Illinois followings. Greeley received 332 votes on the sixth, Adams 324. In the next turn Gree-

ley was nominated by a vote of 482 to 187 for Adams. The delegates refused to make the choice unanimous. B. Gratz Brown was named for Vice-President.

Greeley accepted on May 29th, concluding: "If elected I shall be the President not of a party but of the whole people. I accept your nomination in the confident trust that the masses of our people, North and South are eager to clasp hands across the bloody chasm which has so long divided them, forgetting that they have been enemies in the joyous consciousness that they are, and henceforth must remain, brethren."

June 5th, the Republicans re-nominated Grant at Philadelphia. Vice-President Schuyler Colfax had developed a taint of Credit Mobilier and was dropped for Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts. July 9th, the despairing Democrats met at Baltimore. John T. Hoffman, Governor of New York presided. The convention speedily swallowed Greeley, platform and all by a vote of 686 out of 720 present. Also B. Gratz Brown. If the Democrats endorsed Greeley the men who had done the most for independent Republicanism did not, Schurz, Bryant, Jacob D. Cox, Oswald Ottendorfer and David A. Wells, all tariff reformers, met in New York and nominated William S. Groesbuck, of Ohio and Frederick Law Olmstead of New York. This ticket was never heard from again, but the bolt told hard against Greeley, who now entered upon what was the most melancholy political campaign in American history. He retired from the editorship of the *Tribune* in which he now had but a tenth interest, and turned it over to Reid. Grant sat serenely in the White House and left the campaign to his henchmen. Greeley kept

open house at his home in Chappaqua, New York, travelled far and spoke often. He had journeyed South the year before and met with a cordial welcome. His white hat became a gonfalon. Warm receptions almost everywhere cheered his hopes. But things were going wrong. Old followers were unforgiving because of the Democratic endorsement. The Tweed scandals in New York offset those of the Credit Mobilier in Washington. Nast pinned him to Tweed in *Harper's Weekly* and the dart penetrated deeply. Henry Ward Beecher, then very influential, would have none of him. People were largely of the opinion that he lacked administrative qualities which was true enough in the meticulous sense; though he had been a great money earner, he could not "make" it as moderns do.

A fortnight before election Greeley was called from the field by the illness of his wife. She died October 30, 1872. Election fell on November 5th. The result was a terrible defeat. Of the total vote, 3,597,132 went to Grant, 2,834,125 to Greeley, whose total was but 130,000 more than that of Horatio Seymour on the straight Democratic ticket four years before. Georgia, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, Texas and Louisiana alone chose Greeley electors. When the electoral college met Greeley was dead. His votes were divided, forty-two going to Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, eighteen to B. Gratz Brown, two for Jenkins and one for David Davis. Grant had two hundred and eighty-six.

November 7th, the *Tribune* published a card from Mr. Greeley announcing his purpose to return to the editorship. It was not destined to come true. During

his campaigning the control of the paper had changed hands. William Orton, President of the Western Union Telegraph Company had secured the stock of Samuel Sinclair, Greeley's publisher and chief associate, along with other options, in a plan to make Schuyler Colfax editor. Credit Mobilier spoiled that, but some inkling of what was happening reached Greeley. Worn, distracted and ignored in the office, he appeared there for a few days, got in one leader analyzing the election and came down on November 14th with an attack of brain fever from which he never rallied. Rumors flew about that he had become insane and was to be confined in Bloomingdale Asylum. Instead he had been taken to the private sanitarium of Dr. George S. Choate, at Pleasantville, near his Chappaqua home. Here he died November 29, 1872. He had not reached his sixty-second birthday, but few men had lived more within that limit of years.

They gave the broken body a great funeral. It was held in the Universalist Church of the Divine Paternity which he attended in New York. The pastor, Dr. Edwin H. Chapin, conducted the service, assisted by Henry Ward Beecher and Dr. Thomas Armitage. Grant, Colfax and Wilson came from Washington to attend. Salmon P. Chase, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Lyman Trumbull, Thurlow Weed and William M. Evarts were among the pall-bearers. Burial was in Greenwood where the printers of New York raised a monument over his grave. They also erected a statue at what is now Greeley Square at Thirty-third Street, Broadway and Sixth Avenue in New York. Another stands at City Hall Park.

With all his failure to reach the summit, and his many stumblings on the steps, Greeley remains an outstanding factor in the creation of the nation to-day. His stand against the extension of slavery brought the common people to support the cause. Yet he did not wish war and would have gone far toward a compromise with the South and would have permitted its peaceable departure from the Union. He fostered protection if that be a virtue, though it has climbed miles higher than he ever dreamed desirable. Though he often told men to "go to hell" he did not believe in it and was a staunch Universalist. Partisan in purpose, he found it hard to be a good party man. Much mental agony fell to his lot. Few men suffered more and gained less in life. His enormous energies went to the benefit of a great cause. He could and did outwork any three of his associates. With pen and on the platform he made himself heard afar. Nature has yet to duplicate him.

Photograph by Underwood and Underwood

SAMUEL J. TILDEN

XIV

SAMUEL J. TILDEN

"COUNTED OUT"

CONSIDERED by James G. Blaine, "in some respects the most striking figure in the Democratic party since Andrew Jackson" Samuel J. Tilden enjoys the unique distinction of being the only man elected on the face of the returns who failed to become President. His followers believed he was deliberately counted out. Instead, his managers and his shrewd self were beguiled into accepting a scheme for settling a dispute that ended in their discomfiture. Had they followed the rule of the Constitution and thrown the election of 1876 into Congress, he would have been seated and all have gone well. That he did not—well let the story unroll itself.

Samuel Jones Tilden was born at New Lebanon, New York, February 9, 1814. His family was well-to-do from the manufacture of tinctures and extracts. Young Tilden took to the law, finishing his studies in New York under John W. Edmonds. Here he met, at a boarding house at 8th Street and Fifth Avenue kept by his aunt, John Bigelow, who became his Boswell. This was in 1837 or thereabouts. Young as he was Mr. Tilden had an eye for politics of the practical sort. Coming from the vicinity of Kinderhook, N. Y., he

followed Martin Van Buren, taking readily to his sly ways, and even improving upon them. "When Mr. Tilden talked politics with you" Bigelow records "it was his habit in those days to get as near to the ear of his interlocutor as possible, and to lower his voice as if to make sure he was edifying no one but the person he was addressing." This habit he continued through life and it earned for him the sobriquet of "Whispering Sammy." It was accentuated in after years by a partial paralysis of the throat that made loud speaking impossible. This also affected the muscles of his arms and gave him an aspect of feebleness that did not, however, affect his mind. In 1846 at the urging of Silas Wright he was elected to the state legislature. He attended the National Convention that nominated Lewis Cass for President as a delegate. There were two sets present representing William L. Marcy and Wright and Van Buren. The latter bolted and called a state convention, Tilden writing the appeal which nominated Van Buren for President on a Free-Soil platform, with Charles Francis Adams, as a running mate. As previously noted it pulled enough votes to beat Cass. Through Tilden's initiative and a word from Charles O'Connor, Bigelow acquired an interest in the New York *Evening Post* that made him comfortable. Though favoring Free-Soil Tilden refused to follow Fremont and remained a Democrat. When secession loomed the *Post* was pro-abolition and supported Lincoln. Tilden foresaw the dreadful consequences and felt them keenly. "I would not," he told Bigelow "have the responsibility of William Cullen Bryant and John Bigelow for all the wealth in the

Sub-Treasury. If you have your way civil war will divide the country, and you will see blood running like water in the streets of this city."

It was a true prophecy and reflects in advance some reasons for his course in 1877. He amplified his views in an open letter to William Kent: "The Union and its dangers," published in the *Evening Post.*

Mr. Tilden stood by the North when the crash came. He was in the confidence of several members of Lincoln's cabinet and often consulted. Against his wishes, he was sent as a delegate to the Chicago Convention that nominated McClellan and earnestly sought to head off the policy there adopted. He opposed a declaration in favor of an armistice and insisted that an adjustment between the North and South on any other basis than the restoration of the Union was out of the question. Failing to carry his views he urged McClellan to disregard the peace at any price advocacy in his acceptance. Succeeding Dean Richmond as Chairman of the Democratic State Committee he made his wishes felt in the party, to in time assume its nation-wide control.

Following the defeat of Greeley and the re-election of Grant the administration went from bad to worse. The Credit Mobilier scandal burst into full flower, blackening the Republican Congress. Grant's Secretary of War was caught grafting. His navy department was rotten with corruption and a whisky ring grew rich securing immunity by bribes, one of which went to the President's confidential secretary. No more unsavory political mess was ever brewed. Justice was blind to the favored scamps. There was one Demo-

cratic blot—that of the Tweed ring in New York. "What are you going to do about it?" was Tweed's arrogant inquiry. Then came forth Samuel Jones Tilden, and showed him the way into prison.

Tilden, with Charles O'Conor, only for a rival, was considered the ablest attorney in New York. His forte was not in court causes but in taking the tangles out of large affairs. There were plenty of them to deal with. The over-building of railroads and blue-sky financing had brought on a terrible panic in 1873, to salvage the results of which Mr. Tilden gave profitable attention. He became rich. Small, silent and canny, he built up a degree of confidence in his clients that made him powerful. When he sought to give the public some benefit from his skill it was greatly appreciated. In 1874 the Democrats nominated him for Governor and in a campaign that gave Congress to the party for the first time since 1856 he was elected, defeating John A. Dix.

The astute governor soon got busy. He found a close Republican ring enriching itself at the expense of the Canal system, then one of good profit to the state, under the guidance of James J. Belden, of Syracuse. To this the Governor directed his attention and did some thorough housecleaning. He cut the tax rate in half, routed the rings and in two short years had the slovenly state in order, its business honestly administered and its rule respected.

A connoisseur and collector of fine wines, he wrote Bigelow from Albany in January, 1875: "As to night drinking, I adopted the notion last year that to have a good sleep I must go to bed unexcited. No matter how

A HARD SUMMER FOR THE SOFT BAG BABY.
Mr. TILDEN. "Now don't cry dear; the second bottle did it."
Mrs. TILDEN. "You are a wonderful Nurse, darling. See! the Angels are whispering to it."
Th. Nast

TILDEN AS A DISPENSER OF "PAP"

A Nast cartoon which appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, August 26, 1876

weary, I never drink at night or in the evening, unless at a dinner or other party, even a glass of wine. This notion grew out of several experiments; when I found myself wakeful to help myself with a nightcap, which had years ago worked well, but on these late occasions worked badly. It may be that the brain has so suffered that it will not allow any stimulant as a preventive of sleep; but I do have excellent sleep without it."

About this time his enemies were circulating reports that he had become a sot! In fact he drank but little, precious drops of the choicest vintages, taken sparingly. He liked Johannesburg from Metternich's famous Schloss. Once General James William Husted, of Peekskill, a famous Westchester Republican, called on some business at Mr. Tilden's New York residence. He set out a bottle of his best. Taking a small glassful, he sniffed it frequently and touched his lips occasionally to the liquid. Husted gulped his glassful and reached for more.

"The next time that man comes here," said Tilden to the butler after Husted's departure, "give him beer."

Governor Tilden had been steadily steering his steps toward the Presidency. Blaine, who seems to have greatly admired his skill as a politician, says of this: "Though more than three-score, he had been a conspicuous party chief only three or four years. He had moved forward to unchallenged personal supremacy, with a vigor and rapidity which in the political life of the United States has seldom been equalled. His sudden rise was not the result of accidental circumstances of which he was the fortunate beneficiary. The sceptre

of power in the Democratic party did not drop into his hands; he seized it and wielded it at his own will. He moulded the conditions which suited his designs, and when the hour was right he assumed command as of divine right."

This was rather piling it on. With all his shrewdness, Mr. Tilden was not responsible for the election of the Democratic Congress. The people were resenting the panic of 1873. Some of the good results had already been spoiled by the election of Samuel J. Randall, Speaker, after the death of Michael C. Kerr. He was a Pennsylvania protectionist who saw that no harm came to the tariff.

Tilden's war record was unassailable and as to slavery he had favored the Wilmot proviso and followed Van Buren on his free-soil venture. That he returned to Democracy seems to strike Blaine as a reproach. In reality Mr. Tilden was more of a patriot than politician. He knew that to have a responsible party government there must be responsible parties. It was his wish to restore the Democracy to that high position and he did. No man was better fitted by intellect for the task. He was all that, purposeful rather than a manipulator. "His earlier political papers" Blaine admits, "are dignified and elevated in tone beyond his years and show a strong intellect and careful reflection." Blaine does not rank him with Jefferson, Madison, Jackson and Van Buren, but credits him with "political capacity of a very high order." He cannot concede him patriotism or any other than political purposes in fulfillment of personal ambition which was his own ruling passion. But he finds Tilden, "Adroit, in-

genuous, and wary, skillful to plan and strong to execute, cautious in judgment and vigorous in action, taciturn and mysterious as a rule and yet singularly open and frank on occasions, resting on old traditions yet leading in new pathways, surprising in the force of his blows yet leaving a sense of reserve power, Mr. Tilden unquestionably ranks among the greatest masters of political management our day has seen."

Let us follow further and see how this "management" turned out. The Democratic convention was held at St. Louis, on June 28, 1876. The Republican ticket of Hayes and Wheeler was already in the field. There was no lack of prominent Democrats in the attendance. Gen. John A. McClernand, Sherman's right hand man in the March to the Sea presided. Others were Samuel J. Randall, Henry Watterson, Leon Abbett, of New Jersey, Daniel W. Voorhees, of Indiana, and William F. Vilas, of Wisconsin. John Kelly, who had taken over Tammany Hall, after Tweed, was there. He was an honest man but had no love for Tilden, whose interest was looked out for by his Lieutenant Governor, William Dorsheimer and Francis Kerman, of Utica. Colonel Watterson called the convention to order and Manton Marble, editor of the New York *World* had written the platform. It was so polished that even Mr. Tilden slipped off its shining surface when he wrote his acceptance. It accused the tariff of robbery, deprecated fixing a date for the resumption of specie payments, which had been done by the Republicans for January 1, 1879. Tariff for revenue only was the main slogan. The names of Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, John Parker, of New Jer-

sey, Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, William Allen, of Ohio, Winfield Scott Hancock of the regular army and Samuel J. Tilden were put in nomination, the last by Francis Kernan. So certain were his arrangements that he received 404½ votes on the first ballot, Hendricks 140½, Hancock 75, Allen 34, Bayard 33, with 37 scattering. His vote was so near to the needful two-thirds, that before the second roll call ceased, his nomination was made unanimous. Thomas A. Hendricks was given the tail of the ticket. He represented the one state beside New York, if the South were solid, needed to elect.

Financial discussion filled most of Mr. Tilden's over-long letter of acceptance, and he was vague on civil service which Mr. Hayes, his opponent, specialized. The boys had been out a good while and it was better to let them get in before plugging up the holes. Neither candidate took the stump. Hayes kept on being Governor of Ohio and Mr. Tilden operated from his office. Senator Zachariah Chandler of Michigan, a rich lumberman, ran the Republican campaign as National Chairman. A good deal was said about "Uncle Sammy's Bar'l," but it was small beside that of Chandler, which was a self-filler from the tariff trough. His risk lay in the South where in numbers of states the black vote outnumbered the white and was more solid than that of the reconstructed rebels. October elections were not decisive, though Indiana went Democratic.

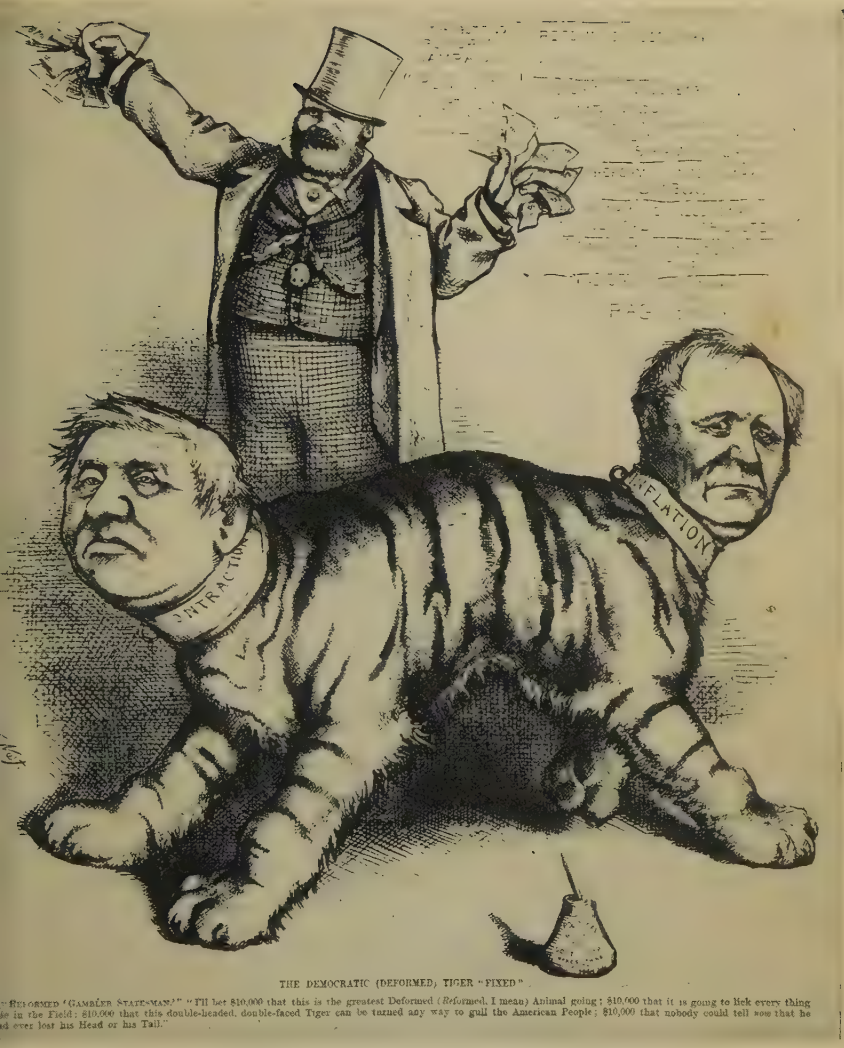
Despite Tilden's record for loyalty to the Union and his free-soil attitude, the last month of the campaign was given to a waving of the bloody shirt. Blaine, who had never smelled powder attuned the attack on the

ex-brigadiers. "The South again in the Saddle" was the frightened cry. Robert G. Ingersoll who had been captured by Forrest without a scratch on his handsome person was a frantic waver of the ensanguined garment. President Grant sent orders to the bayonet picketted South to see that peace prevailed at the polls. It did.

"Tilden Triumphs" was the *World's* headline on November 8th. That was the popular opinion, but John C. Reid, managing editor of the New York *Times,* thought otherwise: that Florida and Louisiana were in doubt and urged Chandler to claim the election by 185 electoral votes to 184. This he did and the ever handy Associated Press sent out this later-morning bulletin: "Rutherford B. Hayes has received 185 electoral votes and is elected." Here Tilden fell down. Abram S. Hewitt, of New York was chairman of the National Committee. He was an able, irritable man who spent much time quarreling with himself. Tilden had really run the campaign. His following wanted word from him. It did not come. Instead he wrote a long, learned pamphlet, discussing the technique of the dispute while carpet bag returning boards sent in returns from Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana in favor of Hayes, when on the face of the returns they had voted for Tilden. Rightfully the case should have gone to the House for settlement, but hair-splitting began in which Mr. Tilden joined. The state of party feeling was so high that both Grant and Tilden feared an outbreak. The former filled the capital with troops lest 100,000 Democrats summoned by Col. Henry Watterson might come and take it, while Mr. Tilden

dreading strife now, as he had done when he reproved Bryant and Bigelow, submitted to an electoral commission selected by Congress as a way out of violence. The Democrats were in control on a joint ballot and Tilden's majority on the popular vote was 250,935. In addition one Hayes elector from Oregon was ineligible from holding a post office.

The commission was composed of three Democrats and two Republicans from the House, selected by party caucuses, and three Republicans and two Democrats from the Senate, to which were added four Supreme Court justices who were to select a fifth, making a body of 15. Nathan Clifford, Samuel F. Miller, Stephen J. Field and William Strong were the judges chosen. These selected Joseph P. Bradley as the fifteenth man. The senatorial members were George F. Edmunds of Vermont, Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana and F. T. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, Republicans, and Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware and Allen G. Thurman of Ohio, Democrats. The House members were Henry B. Payne, of Ohio, Eppa Hunton, of Pennsylvania, Josiah G. Abbott, of Massachusetts, Democrats, James A. Garfield of Ohio and George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, Republicans. Tilden's counsel were Jeremiah S. Black, Charles O'Conor, John A. Campbell, Montgomery Blair, Lyman Trumbull, M. H. Carpenter, Ashbel Green, George Hoadley, R. T. Merrick, William C. Whitney, and A. P. Morse. Hayes was represented by William M. Evarts, Stanley Matthews, G. W. Stoughton and Samuel Shellaberger. The Democrats had the most talent, but the Republicans the most votes. Bradley voted invariably



THE DEMOCRATIC (DEFORMED) TIGER "FIXED"

"Deformed 'Gambler Statesman'" "I'll bet $10,000 that this is the greatest Deformed (*Reformed*, I mean) Animal going; $10,000 that it is going to lick every thing else in the Field; $10,000 that this double-headed, double-faced Tiger can be turned any way to gull the American People; $10,000 that nobody could tell now that he had ever lost his Head or his Tail."

TILDEN MAKES TAMMANY FACE BOTH WAYS

Another campaign cartoon from the versatile pen of Nast, in the pages of *Harper's Weekly*, July 22, 1876

in with the Republicans, "Eight to Seven" became a by-word for injustice. Each time Bradley was recorded a howl of disgust went up from the Democratic press and populace. He was unswerved to the end. His vote counted all the disputed states for Hayes. The Senate confirmed the result, the House dissented, but the law had clearly provided that the Commission's decision could not be set aside unless both united and so voted—which they did not do.

Mr. Tilden's view of the outcome was well-expressed in his letter of June 16, 1880, declining the renomination which would have been his had he cared to accept. He said referring to 1876:

In the canvass which ensued the Democratic party represented reform in the Administration of the Federal Government and a restoration of our complex political system to the pure ideals of its founders. Upon these issues the people of the United States, by a majority of more than a quarter of a million, chose a majority of the electors to cast their votes for the Democratic candidate for President and Vice-President. It is my right and privilege here to say that I was nominated and elected to the Presidency absolutely free from any engagement in respect to the exercise of its powers or the disposal of its patronage. Through the whole period of my relation to the Presidency I did everything in my power to elevate and nothing to lower moral standards in the competition of parties. By what nefarious means the basis of a false count was laid in the several states I need not relate. These are now matters of history, about which whatever diversity of opinion may have existed in either of the great parties of the country at the time of their consummation has since practically disappeared. I refused to ransom from the returning boards of Southern States the documentary evidence by the suppression of which and by

the substitution of fraudulent and forged papers, a pretext was made for the perpetration of a false count. The constitutional duty of the two houses to count the electoral vote as cast, and give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their suffrages was never fulfilled. An Electoral Commission for the existence of which I have no responsibility was formed, and to it the two houses of Congress abdicated their duty to make the count, by a law enacting that the count of the commission should stand as lawful unless overruled by the concurrent action of the two houses. Its false count was not overruled, owing to the complicity of the Senate with the Republican majority of the Commission.

Hayes became President on the Chandler figures 185 to 184. He was denounced as a fraud throughout all his admirable administration. The New York *Sun* printed his picture with the word stamped on his brow. For all the clamor the result probably turned out better for the country at large than if Mr. Tilden had forced his way in.

Mr. Tilden did not get the credit he should have received for his pacific policy. The public did not welcome Hayes, the politicians abjured Tilden for not making a fight. In 1878 he suffered by the publication of a series of cipher dispatches involving his nephew W. T. Pelton and Mr. Tilden's agents who were watching the count in the South. B. F. Butler had got hold of them, and while running for Governor of Massachusetts gave them to the New York *Tribune*. The dispatches showed that the returning boards of the three states were for sale. Mr. Tilden did not buy them. Who did? The revelations spoiled a congressional inquiry into Republican election practices in the

South and greatly vexed Mr. Tilden, who insisted that he knew nothing of all that was going on. As there were about 30,000 dispatches from many men and many points someone had certainly been zealous. Blaine holds that Smith M. Weed and Pelton had planned to bribe but were too slow.

For the rest of his life Mr. Tilden kept in retirement. In 1884 there was another strident call for his nomination. He again wrote declining the honor and the choice fell on Grover Cleveland.

Three younger men, Conrad N. Jordan, Charles S. Fairchild and Edward L. Parris were in his confidence and all were worthy of it. The two first saw service in the Treasury under President Cleveland and Mr. Parris was an able assistant district attorney in New York and also a tax commissioner of the city. One day shortly after Mr. Tilden had bought his great mansion on the bank of the Hudson, near Yonkers, Mr. Jordan found him supervising the serving of a canvasback duck in E. B. Orcutt's restaurant on Broadway near Fulton Street.

"Mr. Tilden," he said, "I have an offer for Graystone that will give you a profit of $100,000."

"How annoying," whispered the sage. "I've just set out fifty peach trees."

There was no sale. In addition to Graystone he built himself a fine mansion on Gramercy Park South. It is now the home of the National Arts Club. The structure was of red-sandstone and the pillars supporting the stairway to the street had the queer conceit of climbing mice carved upon them.

Tilden died at Graystone, August 21, 1886. He had

never married. To his munificence New York owes its magnificent public library.

Bigelow has summed up Mr. Tilden's political course and share in affairs succinctly as follows:

"He was champion of the Union and of President Jackson against the Nullifiers and Mr. Calhoun. He denounced the American system of Mr. Clay as unconstitutional, inequitable, and sectional. He vindicated the removal of the government deposits from the United States Bank, by President Jackson, and exploded the sophisticated doctrine of its lawyers that the Treasury is not an executive department. He vindicated President Van Buren from the charge made by William Leggett of unbecoming subserviency to the slave holding states in his inaugural address. He was among the first to insist upon free banking under general laws, thus opening the business equally to all, and abolishing the monopoly which was a nearly universal superstition. He exposed the perils of banking upon public funds. He advocated the divorce of bank and state, and the establishment of a sub-treasury. He asserted the supervisory control of the legislature over corporations of its own creation. He exposed the enormity of Webster's scheme to pledge the public lands for the payment of the debts of the states. He drew and vindicated in a profoundly learned and able report the act which put an end to the discontents of the New York Anti-Renters. He wrote the protest of the Democracy of New York against making the nationalizing of slavery a test of party fealty. He was the first, we believe, to assign statesmanlike reasons for opposing coercive temperance legislation. He

pointed out, as no one had done before the dangers of sectionalizing the government. * * * He led the storming party which drove Tweed and his predatory associates to prison or into exile. He purified the judiciary of the city and state of New York by procuring the adoption of measures which resulted in the removal of one judge by impeachment and of two judges by resignation. He induced the Democratic Convention in 1874 to declare, in no uncertain tone, for a sound currency. * * * It was at his instance that the Democratic party of New York * * * pronounced against Third Term Presidents."

Surely a record upon which any statesman might be proud to have lived!

XV

GENERAL WINFIELD S. HANCOCK

"THE SUPERB"

THOUGH his record as a soldier shines in the military annals of the country, General Winfield Scott Hancock, "The Superb," is recalled politically by a single phrase: "The tariff is a local issue." Much laughed at in 1880, when he ran as the Democratic candidate for President against James A. Garfield, for this utterance, its truth has since been vindicated over and over again. Believing they had won in 1876, the Democrats endeavored to put their best foot forward in the next campaign. The Republicans dared not re-nominate President Hayes who, besides the taint in his title had given great offense to the spoilsmen in his own party who had grown affluent in the golden days of graft under Grant. The "soldier" element was very prominent and needed catering to. The Grand Army of the Republic had come into being and was more than powerful. Grant's followers were eager to have him in again and mustered an "Old Guard" with 306 votes at the Republican convention at Chicago on June 2, 1880, under the lead of Roscoe Conkling. They were unable to control and the nomination went to Garfield, an Ohio man, member of Congress, with a creditable war record. He had been

tarnished in the Credit-Mobilier scandal, but was a devout churchman which balanced the account.

Despite a theory that all Democrats were Skeddadlers and Copperheads, a good many served in the army and some of the better generals were of the faith. Indeed Grant himself had voted for Buchanan —the only ballot he ever cast for President. Southern brigadiers had come back to Congress in droves and made a good deal of noise, which militated against the party. The Ku Klux Klan in the South had served to continue the belief that the country still needed to be saved at Republican hands. It became necessary to find a Northern Democrat who had borne a distinguished part in the war. The convention meeting at Cincinnati on June 22, 1880, found him in Winfield Scott Hancock.

Hailing from Pennsylvania, where he was born on a farm in Montgomery County, February 14, 1824, the General was at the moment stationed at Governor's Island, New York, in command of the Military Department of the East. Twenty names were before the convention including Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, Stephen J. Field, of California, Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, William R. Morrison, of Illinois, J. E. McDonald, of Indiana, and Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania. It was truly an open contest. The first ballot was taken on June 23rd. During the night sentiment centered on the General, and when balloting was resumed on the 24th, he won on the second call, with a total of 369 votes.

His story was typically American. Benjamin F. Hancock and Elizabeth Hexworth, were farm folks,

until Winfield and his twin brother Hilary were four years old, when the family removed to Norristown, where the father took up school teaching while he studied law and the mother worked as a milliner. Admitted to the bar at Norristown, the elder Hancock opened an office adjoining his wife's millinery shop. Thus the couple worked their way along. Hilary followed his father's profession and John the third son became a Colonel of Volunteers during the rebellion.

Winfield grew up into a tall, thin lad, who went to school in Norristown and "learned" his lessons as the saying goes. When sixteen, Congressman Joseph Formance gave him a cadetship at West Point, where he fell into what was to prove good company. Here were Ulysses S. Grant, George B. McClellan, William B. Franklin, Ambrose E. Burnside, John F. Reynolds, J. L. Reno, E. O. C. Ord, Thomas Jonathan Jackson ("Stonewall") James Longstreet, A. J. Pleasanton, W. F. ("Baldy") Smith, A. P. and D. H. Hill, not to mention many others who were to be heard from. He graduated June 30, 1844, eighteenth in his class and was assigned, as a second lieutenant to the Sixth Infantry. The regiment was located in the Indian Territory. He was first stationed at Fort Towson on the Red River, then transferred to Fort Washita. Indians were troublesome but his post life was without incident and so continued until the outbreak of the Mexican War, when he was sent to Newport Barracks, Kentucky, on recruiting service, soon to be ordered with his regiment to join Major General Winfield Scott in Mexico. The fighting was always against heavy odds. Hancock had his baptism in blood and fire

Photograph by Brown Brothers

WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK

at the entrance to the causeway at Churubusco, that guarded the road to Mexico City. His company under Captain Hoffman, led the advance. Losses were heavy but the victory was complete. He next took part in the storming of Molino del Rey. Chapultepec was taken without him. He was ill in his tent. His conduct at Churubusco, brought him a brevet as first lieutenant and he led the company at Molino del Rey. The Pennsylvania legislature thanked him among others for gallant conduct.

The war over he did duty at Jefferson Barracks, St. Louis, becoming regimental quartermaster. January 24, 1850, he married Miss Almira Russell, of St. Louis. Shifted to Florida he did duty for a time at St. Augustine, then went to Ft. Leavenworth, where the Mormon troubles of 1857 found him and he joined Albert Sidney Johnston for the March across the plains to Salt Lake. It was attended with much hardship. Brigham Young came to terms and there was no fighting. By this time Hancock was a captain.

Ordered to the Pacific after the Mormon troubles cooled, he marched his company from Ft. Bridger, Utah, to Benecia, California. They were three months making the journey. Made chief quartermaster he was located at Los Angeles and was there when the civil conflict broke out in 1861. Considerable secession sentiment was active in Los Angeles. Against this the Captain set his influence and at the same time asked Governor Andrew G. Curtin, of Pennsylvania, for a volunteer command. There was no response. Accordingly he applied for active service to the War Department and was ordered East. On his arrival in Washing-

ton he was assigned as Quartermaster to the staff of General Robert Anderson, of Ft. Sumter, who had been given the task of holding Kentucky. Before he could reach the post, McClellan, who had been appointed commander-in-chief, caused him to be commissioned a Brigadier General of Volunteers. He was soon on the way to the busiest kind of active service. His commission bore the date of September 23, 1861, and his first duty was in the defense of Washington. From the capital, he was transferred to McClellan's army and plunged into the campaign on the Peninsula. His brigade was composed of the Fifth Wisconsin, the Sixth Maine, and Forty-ninth Pennsylvania and the Forty-third New York regiments. Their first action was against the retreating confederates at Williamsburg. His brigade led the van against the valorous troops of Jubal A. Early and James Longstreet whom he drove from the field. "Hancock was Superb" commented McClellan in his report to President Lincoln. His reward was a brevet major in the regular army. He led the hard fighting to the Rappahannock when McClellan turned back. His next honor became that of a colonel in the regulars.

The Maryland campaign was now in order. It culminated in the victory at Antietam. Here again Hancock distinguished himself. Major General Israel B. Richardson was mortally wounded and Hancock was given his division. "In front of Hancock's lines" wrote Albert D. Richardson, war correspondent of the New York *Tribune,* after Antietam, "a flag of truce was raised. Hancock erect and soldierly, with smooth face and light eyes and brown hair, the finest looking gen-

eral in our service—accompanied by (Thomas Francis) Meagher, rode forward into a corn-field and met the young fire-eating brigadier of the Rebels, Roger A. Pryor. Pryor insisted that he had seen a white flag on our front, and asked if we desired permission to remove our dead and wounded. Hancock indignantly denied that we had asked for a truce, as we claimed the ground, stating that throughout the whole day we had been removing and ministering to both Union and Rebel wounded. He suggested a cessation of sharpshooting until this work was completed. Pryor declined this, and in ten minutes the firing resumed."

The removal of McClellan and his replacement by Ambrose E. Burnside brought on the disaster at Fredericksburg on December 13, 1862. Here Hancock received a flesh wound in the abdomen and his uniform was seared with bullets. His appointment as Major-General followed. Burnside dropped, Hancock followed "Fighting Joe" Hooker to defeat at Chancellorsville. Four weeks later he was given command of the Second Corps and held it throughout the war.

The audacious advance of Robert E. Lee into Pennsylvania now came to test the strength of the North. In the gathering of forces to meet it Hancock held the rear-guard. His corps was massed at Gettysburg on July 1, 1863. The battle was on. John F. Reynolds, heading the advance had been killed. The early advantages were with the invaders. Meade at once pushed Hancock to the fore. "For God's sake send up Hancock" he signalled. "Everything is going at odds and we need a controlling spirit." Hancock came up speedily and soon matters were well in hand. He superseded

O. O. Howard and Daniel E. Sickles, his seniors, who made no protest, so great was the need of the hour. The second day was a draw, but the line, augmented by Hancock, was unbroken. Sickles lost his leg and his Third Corps came under Hancock's control.

On the third day befell the great test. Hancock, bands playing, banners flying, rode the length of the line under fire from the enemy. His courage cheered the men and moved them to resist the great assault that impended in the charge led by George Pickett. The story need not be retold. When the Confederates recoiled they left a field covered with dead and wounded, five thousand prisoners and thirty stand of colors behind. The Southern soldiers had made a majestic attempt, but in vain. High tide was then reached. Thereafter it receded. Hancock was not unscathed. He was stricken in his saddle, just as the retreat began. The wound was severe, a tearing slash through the thigh. He was taken to Norristown and kept from service by the disability until December 27, 1863. It being winter he was assigned to recruiting duty, with headquarters at Harrisburg in his native state. He travelled about, being received everywhere with great attention. New York and Boston vied in doing him honor.

In March, 1864, he rejoined his corps. It had been augmented to a force of fifty thousand men—a great army in itself. May 4th began the attempt to "fight it out on this line if it takes all summer." The next day Hancock fought in the second battle of Chancellorsville. Lee, much outnumbered did dreadful damage. The Wilderness followed with worse results. Spottsyl-

vania was next in order. Here Hancock held another "bloody angle" destined to be deeper dyed than that at Gettysburg. Five desperate charges were repelled. When the fight was over, Grant was not victor, but Lee had met with losses he could not repair. Cold Harbor ensued with the most horrible slaughter of the war. Then Grant sat himself down for months before Petersburg.

Hancock's wound reopened and he was compelled to take a short leave. June 27, 1864, found him once more at the front. He witnessed the faulty mine explosion and its disastrous results. President Lincoln sent him his commission as Brigadier General of the regulars. Some casual conflicts kept him busy until November 26th when he was ordered to Washington to organize a corps of volunteers. In February 1865, he went to the Valley of Virginia, with headquarters at Winchester, and having under his command the departments of West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Washington, with the Army of the Shenandoah, embracing almost 100,000 men. Before it could get busy the collapse of the Confederacy came at Appomattox, April 9, 1865. The assassination of Mr. Lincoln brought him to Washington as a safeguard against a further rising. The District of Columbia was put under his rule. It became his duty to issue the order which hanged the surviving conspirators. He greatly regretted the fate of Mrs. Mary E. Surratt and posted couriers to carry a reprieve had President Andrew Johnson granted it, which he did not. There is little doubt now of the poor woman's innocence.

The General was assigned to the Department of

the Missouri, August 10, 1866, where he did some Indian fighting and was then given charge of the Fifth Military District, compromising Louisiana and Texas, under the Congressional act which was the beginning of the series that disturbed the "reconstruction" of the South. There were five of these districts, each under a major-general possessing plenary powers. In this instance he replaced Philip H. Sheridan who had not been a success as an administrator. Known to be a Democrat and to have broad views the General was favorably received in his district where Sheridan had played the despot. He reached his post on November 29, 1867, and at once proceeded to make his position clear by issuing General Order No. 40 that caused a stir among the extremists in Congress but warmed his welcome. In it he laid down principles that had they been everywhere in effect would have solved the sorry situation. He proposed to preserve the liberty of the press, the right of habeas corpus, trial by jury, freedom of speech and the rights of persons and property. The courts were restored to their functions and local government set in motion. Judge Jeremiah S. Black of Pennsylvania called it an "admirable order" and as "the first, most distinct and most emphatic recognition which the principles of American liberty have received at the hands of any high officer in a southern command. It has the very ring of the revolutionary metal. Washington never said a thing in better taste or better time."

Called upon to establish a military court to try an offender by the general in command in Texas he consigned the case to the state tribunal. He revoked Sheri-

dan's orders subordinating the courts and prohibited military interference with elections. Civil causes were sent for adjustment where they belonged. Regulations governing the selection of juries were abolished. School property was restored to the parishes to do as they liked with it. He refused to follow the crooked wishes of the carpet-bag governors and returned the registration of voters to the proper authorities.

In correspondence with Governor E. M. Pease, of Texas, he declined to exercise arbitrary power, finding no need therefor. Popular as all this made him in his district, it sat ill in Washington where the radical Republicans sought his removal. It was first planned to oust him by reducing the number of major-generals and lowering his grade to that of a brigadier. This was rejected as dangerous. They then operated through Grant, who was commander-in-chief and slated to be nominated for the presidency. He curtailed Hancock's powers in so many ways that he asked to be relieved in February 27, 1868. It was granted. He left his district amid universal respect, with an enhanced reputation as a wise and competent administrator.

When the Democratic National Convention met in Tammany Hall, July 4, 1868, General Samuel J. Anderson of Portland, Maine, placed Hancock in nomination. His vote rose to 144 ½ but on the twenty-second ballot the nomination went to Horatio Seymour. He served in the Department of Dakota, and was back in that of the Atlantic in 1876, when the Democratic convention again heard his name. Heister Clymer, of Pennsylvania, nominated him. He received 75 votes on the first ballot. On the second the nomina-

tion went to Samuel J. Tilden, as already recorded.

In the Convention of 1880 Daniel Dougherty of Philadelphia, who was indeed a "silver-tongued" orator as he was well named, nominated Hancock. James E. English, of Indiana, was named for his running mate. During the campaign the General remained at his headquarters on Governor's Island, New York harbor. He was no longer lean, but had filled out into the dimensions of General Winfield Scott, his namesake.

Numbers of the states had elections in advance of the national date in November. Maine was the first of these balloting in September for governor. The Greenback party which had become strong in the state, fused with the Democrats. The result was the election of General Harris M. Plaisted as governor. The Republicans had fought a great fight, with their best speakers on the stump and lost. Protection seemed in peril from the man who believed it to be a local question and it looked, too, as if the South was coming back. Manufacturers were mercilessly assessed and the bloody shirt was violently waved against the test in November. The two items, plus the greatest campaign fund were unloosed, proved too much for the Democracy to overcome. Garfield won, yet his lead on the popular vote was but 7,018. In the electoral college Garfield had 214 votes to 155 for Hancock. The republican office holders were "saved" again and the tariff remained untrimmed.

There was deep Democratic disappointment over his defeat. The party had put up a notable campaign and kept the Republicans on the defensive. The South

came back "solid" for the first time since reconstruction. Ten million votes were cast, the largest number in the history of Presidential conflicts. New Jersey was the only Northern state carried by the Democracy. Nevada went for Hancock who also captured five electors in California.

For the rest of his life the General's figure was unimportant. He remained in charge of the Department of the Atlantic with headquarters at Governor's Island, where he died February 9, 1886. He was buried at Norristown.

XVI

JAMES G. BLAINE

"THE PLUMED KNIGHT"

NONE of the aspirants for the Presidency who failed to arrive felt so deeply his disappointment as James G. Blaine of Maine, most partisan of all the Republican candidates. He was not born in the Pine Tree State, but was a native of Pennsylvania, born at West Brownsville, an obscure hamlet, January 31, 1830. He taught school in Kentucky for a couple of seasons, then brought up in Maine, to take a hand in the production of the *Kennebec Daily Journal,* printed at Augusta, a state paper, kept fat on public printing, then and now. In 1862 he was elected to Congress, continuing to serve until 1876. From 1868 to 1874 he was speaker. Then the Democrats captured the House and elected Michael C. Kerr in his stead. As speaker and member he made himself conspicious as a party leader, tilting continously with the growing phalanx of "Rebel Brigadiers" who came to Congress from the South and making a great name for himself as a party protagonist. He became next to Roscoe Conkling, Senator from New York, the most conspicuous Republican in the country, with a popularity much beyond that of Conkling, whom he once contemptuously termed a Turkey Cock. The Senator

Photograph by Underwood and Underwood

JAMES G. BLAINE

strutted in speech and mien and the thrust went home. Cartoonists took it up and thereafter the haughty Roscoe figured as a gigantic gobbler to his deep disgust. He aimed at the Presidency and the popular Blaine got in his way. There was mortal enmity between them that would have brought on a duel fifty years earlier. Blaine could be extremely irritating as the former Confederates found out.

The Democrats in control of Congress sought his destruction and came near to achieving it. Blaine was a money maker and in the course of accumulating cash engaged to sell a block of securities of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad, an enterprise which he had aided by saving its land grant from cancellation by some good legislative advice when speaker during his first term in 1869. After this the promoters made him "a most liberal proposition" for handling bonds to the amount of $125,000. A bonus of $125,000 in common stock and $125,000 in preferred went with the bonds. So did $125,000 more in land-grant certificates. Blaine kept the latter and received besides a further $125,000 of land grant bonds and $32,500 in first mortgage bonds as a "commission" for marketing the $125,000. It looks like a pretty generous reward for a plain financial transaction. He made some other sales to constituents and was rewarded with $15,150 more on a $43,150 transaction. Seventeen Maine men took over the several amounts. The stock proved worthless and the bonds went into default. Naturally the customers kicked. Being Speaker of the House and seeking further honors, Blaine bestirred himself to repay the losses and did so, emptying his pockets

to do it. Later the Atlantic and Pacific Union Railroad bought up the bonds, paying something more than market value for them. He had taken back the bonds from his friends, so was lifted out of his stress by this purchase and on the whole came out a little ahead. This was looked upon as a round-about way of paying for favors from the Speaker by the railroads. He was charged with packing committees and doing various friendly acts in return.

When he became a conspicuous candidate for President in 1876, these facts were whispered about and finally developed into public charges. He met them openly and if he did not clear himself he confounded his accusers. May 2, 1876, on the eve of the Republican National Convention the House instructed the Judiciary Committee to undertake an investigation. This was purely a partisan move to kill off a popular candidate. The committee got hold of one James Mulligan, who had kept books for Warren Fisher Jr., of Boston with whom Blaine operated in the bond matter, who gave evidence that part of the transaction which Thomas A. Scott had declared was his, had been Blaine's in fact. To back up the truth of this he casually remarked that he had some letters from Blaine which the latter thought had been returned. This startled the defendant who secured an adjournment of the hearing at this point and besought Mulligan in private to give him the letters. He showed great distress, asking the favor in the interests of his family as "if the Committee were to get hold of those letters it would ruin him forever." Mulligan said he would not volunteer to produce them nor would he give them

to the press. At this Blaine, who had read them over, asked to see them again, and then pocketed the bunch as his own, a correct view as the copyright law now stands. When the committee called upon him to produce them he refused to do so, under advice of his counsel, Matt H. Carpenter, Republican, and J. S. Black, Democrat, as having no relevancy to the purposes of the inquiry. The date of the Republican National Convention, June 14, 1876, was close at hand. He contrived to secure by arrangement a cablegram from one Josiah Caldwell, in London, confirming Scott, and then rose to a question of privilege and read the "Mulligan" letters himself before the House, the galleries being packed with applauding friends. With dramatic declamation he invited the confidence of 44,000,000 of his countrymen. Proctor Knott, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee had withheld the Caldwell cable, believing it to be framed. This was a mistake which Blaine capitalized in denunciation of what he called concealment of his vindication. The audacity of the whole performance dazed the Democrats and left Blaine triumphant if not innocent. He had read as much of the letters as he cared to, changing their sequence, and editing as he went on to suit his purposes. Rhodes sets him down as guilty. He had outgeneralled his foes, however, by his impudence and left them helpless to proceed further. This was on June 5th. The committee resumed its sessions, but made no headway, June 10th it again demanded the production of the letters. Again Blaine refused and they continued, then and thereafter, in his possession. On the following Sunday Blaine was stricken in church

with what appeared to be a slight attack of apoplexy. It was called a sunstroke. He lay ill for days. The committee met no more and never reported. Blaine does not mention either the investigation or the illness in his *Twenty Years of Congress.*

When the Convention opened at Cincinnati on June 14th, his was the most prominent name before it. The delegates had been elected previous to the inquiry and were not influenced by it. The arrangements for his nomination were carried out, Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll "infidel," but the most eloquent orator of the day, presented his name in a speech that remains memorable. John M. Harlan had nominated Benjamin H. Bristow, of Kentucky, when Colonel Ingersoll arose and commanded attention. As an enthusiastic Chicago reporter wrote of his fellow-Illinoisan: "Ingersoll had won his audience before he had spoken a word." The audience yes, the delegates, no, as it turned out. Clever indeed was his peroration and mightily moving. Regardless of Mulligan he summed up the popular requirements of a candidate by the people.

They demand [he shouted] a man whose political reputation is spotless as a star; but they do not demand that this candidate shall have a certificate of moral character signed by a Confederate Congress. The man, who has, in full, heaped, and rounded measure, all these splendid qualifications, is the present friend and gallant leader of the party—James G. Blaine. Our country crowned with the vast and marvellous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of the past, and prophetic of her future, asks for a man who has the audacity of genius, asks for the man who is the grandest

combination of heart, conscience and brain beneath the flag —such a man is James G. Blaine.

Let us pause while the galleries roar to admire this apogee of adulation! Ingersoll went on:

For the Republican host, led by this intrepid man, there can be no defeat. This is a grand year—a year filled with recollections of the Revolution, filled with proud and tender memories of the past; with the sacred legends of liberty—a year in which the sons of freedom will drink from the fountains of enthusiasm; a year in which the people vote for a man who has preserved in Congress what our soldiers won upon the field; a year in which they call for the man who has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander—for the man who has snatched the mask of Democracy from the hideous face of rebellion; for the man who, like an intellectual athlete, has stood in the arena of debate and challenged all comers, and who is a total stranger to defeat.

Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen foreheads of the defamers of his country and the maligners of his honor. For the Republican party to desert this gallant leader now is as though an army should desert their general upon the field of battle. James G. Blaine is now, and has been for years, the bearer of the sacred standard of the Republican party. I call it sacred because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming and remaining free.

Gentlemen of the convention: In the name of the Great Republic, the only republic that ever existed upon this earth, in the name of all her defenders and of all her supporters, in the name of all the soldiers dead upon the field of battle, and in the name of all of those who perished in the skeleton clutch

of famine at Andersonville and Libby, whose sufferings he so vividly remembers, Illinois,—Illinois nominates for the next President of this country, that prince of parliamentarians,—that leader of leaders—James G. Blaine.

Sounds absurd now, does it not! Blaine was sitting comfortably in Congress, while men starved in Andersonville and Libby. He never served a day in the field, yet the impudent Ingersoll could claim for him a candidacy on the fact that he "vividly" remembered their sufferings! The crowd was thrilled anew. Cheers choked the proceedings. When order came again Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, Roscoe Conkling of New York, Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio, Marshall Jewell of Connecticut, and John F. Hartranft, of Pennsylvania, were placed in nomination. Blaine led with 285 votes. Morton followed with 124, Bristow 113, Conkling 99, Hayes 61, Hartranft 58, Jewell 11, and William A. Wheeler, of New York 3. Blaine gained 11 on the second ballot. There was little change until the fifth ballot when Michigan raised the Hayes figure to 104, Morton being the loser. On the sixth Blaine reached 308, Hayes 113. The Conkling forces convinced that he could not win, conferred with other delegates to bring about the defeat of Blaine, by agreeing on Hayes. While the seventh roll call was under way the shift came. When it ended Hayes had 384 votes, Blaine 351. Twenty-one stood by Bristow. The nomination of Hayes, then Governor of Ohio for the third time, was made unanimous. The lance of the Plumed Knight lay shivered in the dust. Congressman William A. Wheeler, of Malone, N. Y., received the Vice-Presidential nomination.

President Hayes ignored Blaine. He took Lot M. Morrill of Maine from the Senate and made him Secretary of the Treasury. Maine then sent Blaine to the Senate to fill his seat. The new senator was no less a figure in the Upper House than he had been in the lower clashing with the Turkey Cock Conkling and making himself variously interesting.

When the National Republican Convention met at Chicago on June 2, 1880, Blaine was again a candidate. Here Conkling made his great stand for U. S. Grant, with 306 delegates who afterwards proudly wore a medal struck in recognition of their steadfastness. James F. Joy of Michigan nominated Blaine. On the first ballot he received 284 votes. Other candidates were James A. Garfield and John Sherman, both of Ohio. Garfield began with but one vote to his credit. Ballot after ballot followed with little change. On the twentieth Sherman advanced to 120. By the thirty-fifth Garfield had grown to 50. Grant's 306 never wavered. On the thirty-sixth roll call the Blaine and Sherman leaders gave up the fight and swung the major part of their support to Garfield, who was nominated by 399 votes. Forty-two clung to Blaine.

The bitterness of Blaine's second defeat was sweetened by the discomfiture of Conkling, who was now to lose his leadership and the newly elected President his life as the outcome of the quarrel. Garfield set aside Conkling's claim to dictate. Chester A. Arthur, a faithful Conkling follower, was named for Vice-President. The ticket won and Thomas C. Platt, his New York colleague in the Senate united with Conkling in a demand that Garfield follow their will. Conkling

wanted to name the Secretary of the Treasury. Garfield declined to obey. Instead he placed the hated Blaine at the head of his Cabinet as Secretary of State and gave William Windom, of Minnesota, the Treasury. He recognized Conkling by appointing Levi P. Morton as minister to France, but mortally offended in the choice of Blaine. To add to Conkling's humiliation he named William H. Robertson, an implacable opponent of Conkling and Platt to the important post of Collector of the Port of New York. Conkling and Platt resigned in resentment, and the Half-breed-Stalwart situation developed in New York, leading to the assassination of Garfield. Both houses invited Blaine to deliver the address at joint memorial services, in the President's honor, held February 27, 1882. This was his peroration:

As his end drew near, his early cravings for the sea returned. The stately mansion of power had been to him the wearisome hospital of pain, and he begged to be taken from its prison walls, from its oppressive, stifling air, from its lonesomeness and its hopelessness. Gently, silently, the love of a great people bore the pale sufferer to the longed for healing of the sea, to live or die as God should will, within sight of its heaving billows, within sound of its manifold voices. With wan, fevered face tenderly lifted to the cooling breeze, he looked out wistfully upon the ocean's changing wonders, on its far sails whitening in the morning light, on the serene and shining pathway of the stars. Let us think that his dying eyes read a mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us believe that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great waves breaking on a farther shore, and felt already upon his washed brows the breath of eternal morning.

"Who now living could pronounce such a eulogy?" queries John Sherman in his *Recollections* published in 1895. He was given the thanks of Congress for his eloquence.

With the death of Garfield, Blaine retired from the Cabinet, December 18, 1881, and thereafter devoted himself afresh to the pursuit of the Presidential prize. Conkling had risked his all in resigning. The New York legislature refused to rebuke the administration by sending him and Platt back to the Senate. In 1882 he forced the nomination of Judge Charles J. Folger on the New York Republicans, to be crushed by a plurality of 192,000 in favor of an unknown Democrat, Grover Cleveland. Conkling practiced law in New York thereafter and took no further part in politics. Yet complete as his downfall had been his course created a nemesis for Blaine in the person of Cleveland. Pennsylvania also elected Robert E. Pattison, a young Democrat for Governor. These convulsions did not bode well for Republican success in 1884. While Conkling was definitely out of politics, his "me too" Thomas C. Platt, was decidedly in. The Half-Breeds controlled New York, and he set patiently to work making it his own. Meanwhile he was quite willing that Blaine should take his turn.

Chester Alan Arthur had made an exemplary President, quite contrary to expectation. The machine Republicans were feebly "for" him when the National Convention met at Chicago on June 3, ~~1844~~. Anti-Blaine Republicans were behind George F. Edmunds of Vermont, an able iceberg. They were represented at Chicago by young Theodore Roosevelt, just cutting

his political teeth, Senator George F. Hoar, William Walter Phelps, Henry Cabot Lodge, George William Curtis and Andrew D. White. They proved impotent. So did the supporters of John Sherman and John A. Logan. The delegates had been picked for Blaine and on the fourth ballot named him. His bedraggled plume had been taken out from among the mothballs and dusted for the occasion while frantic admirers advertised that he "would sweep the country like a prairie fire." That he did not was no fault of energy or popularity on his part.

Cleveland's nomination by the Democrats led to an exciting campaign. New York had broken the Republican hold because of Conkling's attempt at dictatorship, and it developed marked hostility to Blaine, in which Massachusetts joined. Men of high repute like George William Curtis, President Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard, Carl Schurz, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, the Rev. James Freeman Clark and many "Greeley" Republicans revolted. The scathing New York *Sun* called them "mugwumps" an alleged Mohegan word for superior persons and this became their trademark. The *Sun* battled Cleveland, whom it assailed unmercifully, thereby losing about half of its readers to Joseph Pulitzer who had taken over the New York *World* May 10, 1883, and as he said "made him a present" of New York newspaperdom. The *World* seized the situation with Mr. Pulitzer's customary alertness and made the most of it.

The taunts of the highbrow bolters brought Blaine reinforcements from the lower regions. In New York, Tammany Hall, which hated Cleveland, bolted the

state ticket, and put up one of its own. This was expected to pull away the Irish vote from Cleveland. Blaine had cleverly catered to the Celts, letting it be known that his grandmother was Irish. This advantage was inadvertently spoiled on October 29, 1884, when receiving a delegation of 500 Protestant clergymen at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, their spokesman, the Rev. Samuel D. Burchard, D.D., a Methodist divine, characterized the Democracy as the party of "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion." The reporters caught the alliteration, but seemingly Blaine did not, for he failed to fend it off in his reply. Blazoned in the press it raised a resentment that did much to check the shift. To add to the ill luck of the day, Blaine was the guest that evening at a gorgeous dinner given in his honor by the Plutocrats of New York, which Walter McDougall the *World's* cartoonist made much of in a famous cartoon labelled "The Royal Feast of Belshazzar Blaine and the Money Kings" spread full across the front page of the paper.

The ghost of Mulligan was revived. Blaine was also accused of promoting while Secretary of State some rather smelly guano claims against Peru. Jacob R. Shipherd, son of the founder of Oberlin College was the wicked partner in this. Some unpleasant things were dug up too, affecting John A. Logan, of Illinois, the candidate for Vice-President.

Most merciless of all Blaine's opponents was Bernhard Gillam, cartoonist for *Puck*. Previous to 1884 a Greek, one Captain George Costentenus, had been the chief attraction of Barnum and Bailey's Greatest Show on Earth, posing in tights as a tattooed man. His epi-

dermis had been marvelously decorated by some artist in making pictures on the human skin. Taking the captain as a model Gillam produced a Tattooed Blaine, his cuticle well covered with the various scandals laid at his door. It was probably the most far-reaching, effective cartoon ever drawn and being widely circulated did dreadful damage to the Republican candidate.

"British Gold" and the "Cobden Club" now appeared for the first time in American politics. These were accused of trying to bring about free trade and to expose American workmen to competition with the pauper labor of Europe. Cleveland was for a tariff for revenue. The fat-fryers sizzled the manufacturers and "lard" flowed freely. The Republicans had unlimited money; the Democrats having nothing to deliver or protect were poor. W. W. Dudley, of Indiana, who resigned as Commissioner of Pensions for the purpose, attended to the trying-out. He apportioned the voters of his state, which was pivotal, into "blocks of five" for easy purchase. Although illegal, office-holders were sweated for funds. United States marshals were set to work in the South, now "solid" but shaky in spots. There were Blaine hopes in the situation, though everything pointed to a close contest.

Election day fell on November 4th. Toward night the feeling in New York grew tense. The returns were meagre. There was nothing from Indiana. Suddenly the Western Union telegraph became silent. It was in control of Jay Gould, who had his offices in the big building, at the corner of Broadway and Dey Street. At nightfall a great crowd gathered in front of the

BLAINE AS "THE TATTOOED MAN"

This cartoon by Gillam, which appeared in *Puck*, June 4, 1884, was one of a deadly series showing Blaine as "The Tattooed Man," because of his political deals

structure demanding news. None was forthcoming. Gould was inside. There were loud cries of "No more 1876! No more eight to seven!" Then as the impatience grew, some brought ropes and the throng sang in an ugly chorus: "Hang, hang, hang Jay Gould." Finally they got tired of waiting in the silence and dark and went home.

New York State had been carried apparently by something like 2,000 plurality for Cleveland. Two "Rotten Boroughs"—Long Island City, in Queens, controlled by its Mayor Patrick Jerome Gleason, and Gravesend, a town in Kings County, wherein Coney Island was located, gave the margin. The Western Union would not send out their figures, contrasting rather unpleasantly with the zeal that sent Zach Chandler's "claims" to fruition in 1876.

Ten days passed before it was certain that Cleveland had conquered the Plumed Knight. The New York majority of around 2,000 for him on the first count simmered down officially to but 1149. The state's totals were 563,154 and 562,005 respectively.

In the electoral college Cleveland had 219 votes to 182 for Blaine. On the popular vote his plurality was 24,268, the totals being 4,871,118 and 4,840,850 respectively. The solid South, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Indiana did the business.

Following his defeat Mr. Blaine retired from public life for four years, during which he made a long stay abroad, coming back much improved in health and spirits, though he grew gray during his absence, and his bulbous nose a bit more bulky. Zealous friends would have wished the candidacy on him in 1888. He

would have none of it: probably could not have secured the nomination. It was John Sherman's turn, but he was set aside and Benjamin Harrison had the distinction of defeating Grover Cleveland, quite to the general amazement. The loss of New York which David B. Hill won as Governor was the cause. Cleveland's re-election had seemed certain.

President Harrison made Blaine his Secretary of State and he filled the place with distinction. Harrison was a competent executive, unpopular with his party. The Secretary surprised those who recalled the part played by the tariff in 1884, by devising a series of reciprocity treaties. He had to handle the lynching of sundry Italian subjects in New Orleans as the outcome of too many Mafia murders, settle the seal-catching relations with Canada and a complication growing out of the Balmaceda revolution in Chile, whither his dictum had sent Patrick Egan, an injudicious minister. In a shore row in Valparaiso, an American man-of-war's man was killed. The incident nearly provoked war, but Chile receded when the crisis was reached and apologized properly.

When Harrison went out of office March 4, 1893, Mr. Blaine retired from public life. He had a fine villa at Bar Harbor, Maine, and in the winter resided in Washington. He died in that city, January 27, 1893.

To the history of his country he added several exciting chapters, and to his *Twenty Years of Congress* appended a valuable volume of political survey in which he was singularly fair to the Democratic fathers. In his own active days he was a partisan of

partisans. Practicing no profession and engaging in no business, he died rich. They called him the "magnetic man from Maine" because he had a warm handshake and a good voice. Maine is not much given to manufacturing men of magnetism. In explanation it may be recalled that he was born in Pennsylvania and possessed Irish blood.

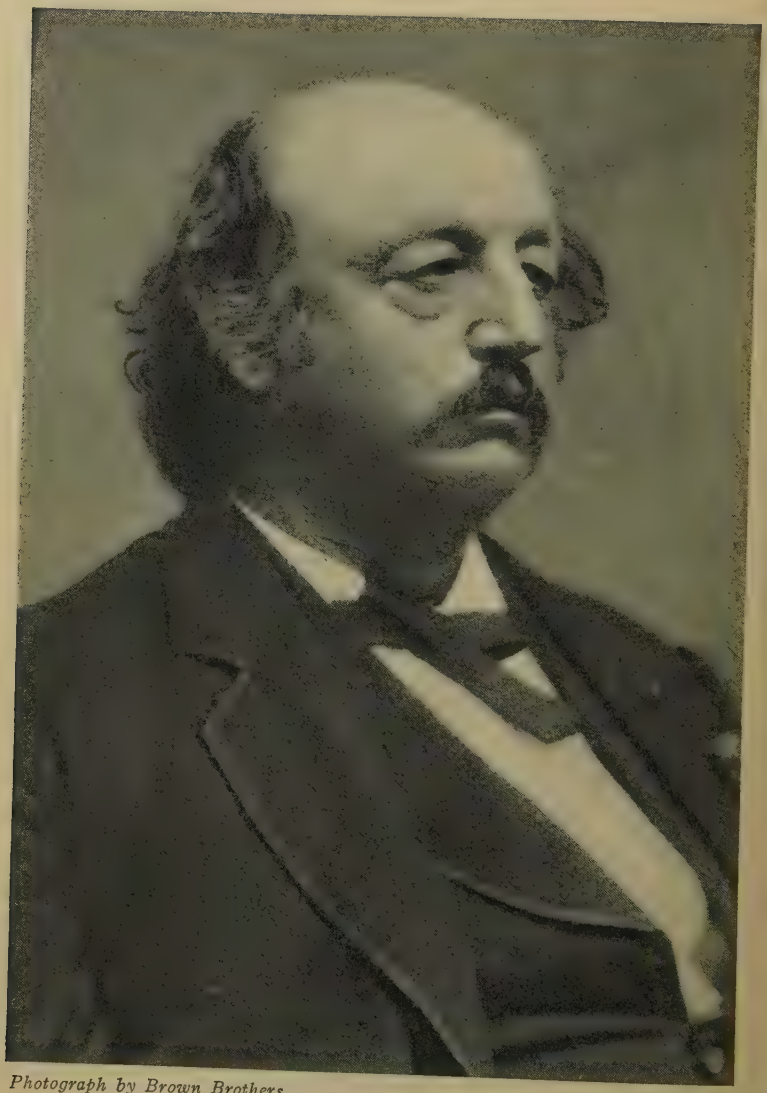
XVII

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER

COMPLEX CHARACTER

IN the National Democratic Convention, which met at Charleston, S. C., on April 23, 1860, Benjamin Franklin Butler voted fifty-seven times for Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, to head the ticket as candidate for President, and then bolted, in company with Caleb Cushing and four other delegates from Massachusetts, "upon the ground," as he put it, after a long effort to be heard, "that there had been a withdrawal in whole or in part, of a majority of the States," and further, which was a master move personal to himself, he "could not sit in a convention where the African slave trade, which was Piracy, according to the laws of his country, was openly advocated." As nearly all of the bolters were pro-slavery, it is not clear what impulse guided Butler in either action. Davis was certainly pro-slavery. Butler opposed Douglas, the leading candidate, who was against it, but on lines that failed to fit either phase of the situation. Cushing was chairman of the convention and an intimate friend of Davis. The intricacies are too deep to solve and Butler's curious complex, here and elsewhere, through all his life, remains inexplicable.

In his autobiography, a ponderous, overwritten



Photograph by Brown Brothers

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER

volume issued in 1892, General Butler says he was born in Deerfield, New Hampshire, November 5, 1818, about four o'clock in the afternoon, evidently to prove that he came through by daylight! His family was Scotch-Irish, sourly Presbyterian. His mother was Charlotte Ellison; his father, John Butler. The latter was a captain in the War of 1812. Disqualified by accident from serving on land, John Butler manned a Portsmouth privateer, and, among other activities, carried dispatches to Andrew Jackson at New Orleans. He followed the sea after the war, and took letters of marque from Simon Bolivar, who was routing Spain out of Venezuela. While in this service, he died of yellow fever at St. Christopher. The father was a handsome, dashing man, the mother plump and plain. Benjamin favored the latter, plus a drooping eyelid that gave his face an evil look. "Old Cockeye" they called him in the army of the James—also some other things.

Charlotte Ellison was a second wife, and of her three children, one, Andrew Jackson, died in infancy. The eldest, a daughter, lived twenty-seven years. Benjamin was puny and ill-favored. He went to a village school, where he learned to read in six weeks. The village shoemaker loaned him *Robinson Crusoe,* which his mother balanced with an equal number of pages from the Bible. On such fodder he became a precocious reader, taking in all that was to be had from the *Farmers' Almanac* to Rollin's *Ancient History.* For a time, when small, he was taken over by his grandmother, who was of the New Hampshire Cilleys, and a woman of character and capacity.

Lowell had grown around the falls of the Merrimac, and became the second city in Massachusetts. Here his mother made her residence, in 1828, and the lad grew up with the town. It was ever after his home. When through with high school, the boy sought a West Point cadetship, but failed to attain it. The mother did not approve, though she tried to get him the appointment. This failing, she sent Ben to Waterville College, at the Maine town of that name, now Colby University, in the hope that he would become a Baptist clergyman. No youth ever shot wider from the mark of hope than he. With proper perversity he took more interest in chemistry than salvation.

Given a mind more active than that of any professor, he was soon unpopular with the faculty, and his singular smartness kept him out of the regard of his fellow students. He shirked prayers and was fined ten cents a shirk. This cut deeply into his slender funds. Worse than this, it lowered his rank as a student, quite unfairly, he thought. His reason refused to accept orthodoxy and he petitioned to be excused from services. This nearly caused him to be expelled.

Sore and sour, he took to attending rural trials and discovered that his taste led to the law. His junior studies interested him more than those of the previous two years, and he picked up as a student. So he graduated with 7.5 points to his credit, out of a possible 10—what amounted to skinning-through—and weighed but ninety-seven pounds. A trip in a fishing schooner filled out a slender frame and cured a cough caught from bathing in the icy Kennebec.

Back to Lowell, he began to study law in William

Smith's office. He did some school teaching while he read. In 1840 Judge Charles Henry Warren admitted him to the bar. He stumped for Martin Van Buren, who was running for re-election. Thus Butler identified himself with the Democratic party and remained in the fold for twenty years.

In 1836, he met and fell in love with Sarah Hildreth, who was then a budding actress. The lady was receptive, but declined to leave the stage until the wooer amounted to something. He reached this point in 1844, when the pair were married on the 16th of May. She lived until 1877.

His legal practice began on the low level of the police court. Here, and in higher tribunals, he acted on the principle that his duty was to his client rather than the law. His uncanny conception of loopholes soon gave him a reputation, good with the unregenerate, and bad with the straight-laced members of the bar, who came to dread the aptitude with which he developed new angles of jurisprudence, detected hidden meanings in statutes and cleared his clients.

Once, there is tradition, he went beyond the law. A scamp of a client was plainly guilty. Butler asked the privilege of consulting him apart for a moment. The pair went into a vacant room in the court house. There he revealed to his rascal the fact that his case was hopeless. "What shall I do?" asked the man. Butler pointed to an open window. Then he returned to court and sat with the attorneys, looking vacant and twiddling his thumbs.

"Where is your client?" queried the judge, when the case came in its turn. "I don't know" replied Ben

blandly. "The last time I saw him he was climbing out of the window."

Naturally, the episode made the town grin and increased his fame. Supreme audacity was always his great stock in trade. His proceedings horrified William Smith, Esq., in whose office he had dug into Blackstone. Mr. Smith met him in the post office one day after some peculiarly iniquitous performance and said scathingly: "Sir, I am ashamed of you! I feel disgraced that you ever studied law in my office."

Ben cocked his eye a little more cockily, but made no reply. Smith lived to see the audacious youth the leading lawyer of the city, and almost of the State, in causes that were apt to be desperate or unsavory. The man had an instinct of the perverse, a certain sympathy for the under dog and a deep desire to lay the mighty low. All these things stand out in his story.

They led him into local politics and then into the wider field of State and Nation. Lowell was a factory town where operatives toiled fourteen hours a day. Butler arrayed himself against this barbarity, and amid aristocratic Whig surroundings, set himself up as a Democrat, and a pro-slavery one at that. He did not believe in bondage, but the Constitution did, and he believed in the Constitution. There was no authority for a fourteen hour day beyond the will of the employer. For long the operatives had been boys and girls from the New England farms. So talented were some of the females, that they established in the Lowell *Offering,* a magazine of much literary merit. One of these girls became Mrs. Paran Stevens, dictator of New York society for a generation.

The mill population underwent a change with the coming of the Irish. They drove out the New Englanders. Their intrusion was much resented by a Native American party, colloquially known as "Know-Nothings" and trouble broke out in various cities. Mobs operated against Catholics in Philadelphia, and the hostile spirit became a factor in politics.

Butler espoused the side of the newcomers and annexed them to his Democratic support in Lowell, with the ten hour day as an issue. His personal position straddled all fences. "As to the powers and duties of the Government of the United States," he wrote later in life, "I am a Hamiltonian Federalist. As to the rights and privileges of the citizen, I am a Jeffersonian Democrat." Between, it might be noted, he was a pretty active Republican, though his days ended in the Democratic fold, tinted with Greenbackism.

Though standing by the Constitution on slavery, Butler did not think the duty of returning escaped negroes lay with the State, and the Supreme Court agreed with him. Anomalous as it may seem to those historians who insist that the Democracy was the party of slavery, Butler engineered a coalition between the Free Soil party, that came to life in the late forties, and the Democrats, against the invincible Whigs. He was some time in bringing this about over the opposition of the so-called "Hunker" Democrats. The election of 1849 paved the way. In 1851, the combination, though not everywhere complete, broke the power of the Whigs in Massachusetts. Butler was recognized as the genius who had brought it about, and denounced accordingly, the Lowell *Courier* observing:

"That the infamous arch demagogue, B. F. Butler, has publicly boasted that his object is to break down the corporations, to reduce the value of their stock to 25 or 30 cents on the dollar in order that, by the depreciation, the Democrats might buy it up, employ Democratic agents and have good Democratic times. Let all who have at heart the welfare of the city and its workingmen remember this at the polls."

For this the publisher of the *Courier* was tried and convicted of libel, but the editor escaped a like fate when tried before the same Whig judge for emitting the following:

"This notorious demagogue and political scoundrel, having swilled three or four extra glasses of liquor, spread himself at whole length in the City Hall last night. * * * The only wonder is that a character so foolish, so grovelling and obscene, can for a moment be admitted into decent society anywhere outside of the pale of prostitutes and debauchees."

The jury naïvely decided that there was no proof the editor meant Benjamin F. Butler, though the item was headed "Ben Butler." So the scribe went free. Butler did not get through his ten hour legislation, but the working day came down to eleven and a quarter hours, and eventually to ten, where it long stuck. The mills were operated by "agents" of the stockholders. These men wielded great and despotic power in finance and politics. Hence the allusion to the desire to replace these with Democrats. They were all Whigs. The free trade Democrats were, of course, accursed in their eyes. One outcome of the mêlée was Butler's election to the Massachusetts Legislature. He was then thirty-

four. The Whigs were in a minority, the control resting between the Democrats and the Free-Soilers. Butler credited the victory to a secret ballot law he had helped put over, that put an end to the practice whereby the Whig employer could take his men to the polls in battalions and compel them to vote according to his way of thinking.

Butler's next public place was in the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1853. Here he parted company with the Irish Catholics, who defeated the adoption of the new charter, because of a clause which forbade State aid to sectarian schools. They controlled the balance of power in Massachusetts even at that early date. Yet Butler had fought know-nothingism as hard as any man could.

Butler often ran for Congress, but was always defeated. In 1858, he succeeded in reaching the State Senate, where he managed to reform the judiciary as far as the hide-bound State Constitution would permit.

Beside his political activity, Butler had, in 1839, become a member of the Lowell Guard, a local militia company, and from private he grew to colonel in the fifties. Governor Gardner, as the outgrowth of know-nothingism, ordered him to disband an Irish company called the Jackson Guards. This Butler refused to do. He proved it was not legal, whereupon the governor reorganized the militia and left Butler without a regiment, by reason of his residence. He laid low until time came to select a brigadier-general, which was done by the vote of field officers. He was chosen, and Gardner had to sign his commission. To top his glory, President Franklin Pierce named him as a visitor to West Point,

Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War, signing his appointment. This military interest was to have great consequences for both Butler and his country.

When after the futile Democratic Convention held at Charleston in May, 1860, the warring Democrats reassembled at Baltimore in June, the convention was somewhat changed in personnel, but not in purpose. Butler bolted again and joined in nominating John C. Breckinridge. He had at Charleston, been shocked by threats of secession, and by the bolting there of the South Carolina delegates who made open threats of disunion unless their views prevailed. So certain he was that war was in the shaping, that he made mental calculations as to how best to capture the town. George F. Sheply of Portland, Me., afterwards one of his brigadiers, observed on their way home from the South: "Butler, when we cross the Potomac again we shall be carrying muskets on our shoulders." Butler agreed. The prophesy came all too true. Yet he accepted the nomination for governor of Massachusetts on the Breckinridge ticket, receiving but 6,000 votes! As he says: "The year before I had received 35,326 out of 108,495 cast. I had done nothing in the meantime to change the vote except to declare myself unalterably opposed to a slave code to be established by the Supreme Court of the United States under our Constitution, for that court would be obliged to follow the legal principle enunciated in the decision in the Dred Scott case, and this could only lead to the reopening of the African slave trade on the high seas, where it had been prohibited for nearly half a century, and riveting the chains on the negroes forever."

He had been appointed one of a committee of fifteen to meet in Washington and reorganize the Democracy. There was so little to reorganize that only seven kept the tryst. Nothing was or could be done. While in the city Butler found it seethed with secession talk. He called on his friend Jefferson Davis, then Senator from Mississippi. They talked long. As an outcome, Butler asked Davis how he could justify himself in joining the South in breach of his oath of allegiance to the United States, which he had taken as a soldier and a Senator. Davis replied: "My first oath of allegiance is to the State of Mississippi, and my allegiance to the State of Mississippi overrides my allegiance to the United States."

Butler asked if he really meant that he would secede with his State. Davis said he would. "Will you come with us?" he added, "No," replied Butler, "I shall go with my State because of my allegiance to the United States."

Davis showed some emotion. "Is it possible, then" he said, "that we shall meet hereafter as enemies?" Butler told him curtly that would depend upon himself. "I never afterwards saw him" records Butler, "which was a piece of good fortune for him, for if we had met while I was in command in the United States Army, he would have been saved a great deal of the discomfort which he suffered by being confined in prison." By this he means he would have hanged the President of the Confederacy had he been given the chance. Butler had talent as a hangman.

The scene now shifted to one of war. Sumter was fired on April 11, 1861, and the call for troops re-

sounded. Butler put his brigade at the service of the State, and did more, by engaging bankers to finance the sudden call on its Treasury. Suspected as a pro-slave Democrat, he was the first to draw the sword, and for companion-in-arms had Col. Edward F. Jones of the Sixth Massachusetts, another Democrat, at his side. The details of his seizure of Annapolis after the assault on Jones' regiment in Baltimore, his securing the safety of Washington, are all matters of history. With active hostilities his progress was fast, his services considerable. From the beginning he was in conflict with all kinds of authority, and so remained until the end. Activity and audacity such as his has small place amid red tape and military formularies. To detail his contentions would be tedious. He was often right and as often wrong. The account about balances.

Being given the Department of Annapolis, he considered Maryland under his jurisdiction, sending a squad to Frederick to capture Ross Winans, the Baltimore engineer who was charged with making pikes of the John Brown pattern for the Baltimoreans who mobbed the Sixth regiment, and a steam cannon designed to annihilate the armies of the North. He was promptly released by the Washington authorities. Butler's next move was to seize Baltimore, marching upon the city in a storm after dark, and capturing an eminence which commanded the town.

For these evidences of energy he was censured by Gen. Winfield Scott, his commander-in-chief, and removed from the department. Politics got busy, however, and Simon Cameron, Lincoln's first Secretary of War, had him commissioned as major-general.

He hesitated to accept, fuming under Scott's rebuke. Cameron urged him as a Democrat not to sulk. He accepted and was sent to command Fortress Monroe, save for its regular troops. The huddle of blunders and incompetencies that marked all the early stages of the conflict now began to assemble. Located ninety-six miles from Richmond, with no enemy of account in the way, Butler wished to move against it. Lack of orders would not have stopped him, but lack of men did. He tried their temper in attacking a small, ill-armed rebel post at Big Bethel, but did not head the three regiments involved in person. Abram Duryea led with his Zouaves. The other two regiments, whose names may remain nameless, became frightened, fired into each other and thus did much more damage than the enemy, which skedaddled, but not until a rifle shot had killed the gallant Major Theodore Winthrop, who essayed to rally the demoralized soldiers. There was nothing to wonder at in the performance, but it discouraged the "On to Richmond" cry which Butler had endeavored to obey. He did, however, secure Newport News and Hampton, and could have taken Norfolk had he been supported, thus saving the Navy Yard and the *Merrimac,* beside a big Northern scare.

One thing the general did do effectively. He opened the door to freedom for slaves. Three negroes came through the lines and their owner, Colonel Mallory, sent Major E. L. Carey, his aid and agent, to Butler with a flag of truce to claim his property under the Fugitive Slave Law. Butler declined to give them up on the ground that Virginia, having seceded, was a foreign country. He therefore declared the negroes to

be "contraband of war" and set them to work on the fortifications. This was the first and only sensible thing done anent the slaves until the Emancipation Proclamation broke their chains.

The black people came flocking in and were duly sheltered and set to work. Butler was never quite sure of the strict legality of his act, but the results were satisfying and certainly relieved the Government of anything like the direct action which it so long hesitated to take, from fear that the North would not support abolition, which really required a Constitutional amendment to have legal effect. The step won him great renown above Mason and Dixon's Line, and much abuse below it, where the South had the curious idea that it could do as it pleased and not suffer consequences. Theodore Winthrop declared it was an epigram that wrought freedom. It did.

Meanwhile, Bull Run had been fought and lost. The North was in a panic. Henry J. Raymond, in the New York *Times,* was clamoring to have Lincoln set aside and George Law, a New York street car magnate, put in his place as dictator. Old Gen. John E. Wool was dragged from retirement and put over Butler at Fortress Monroe. He instructed Butler to move against Hatteras Inlet on the Virginia seacoast side of North Carolina. The expedition went by sea, Butler on the revenue cutter, *Harriet Lane.* The warships cleared the shore batteries. Some troops were landed with difficulty. Samuel C. Barron, an ex-U. S. naval commodore, was in command of the Confederates. He soon surrendered. Butler's orders required that he should plug up the inlet by sinking some schooners

A BROAD HINT TO THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

"BEN" BUTLER, THE CANDIDATE

A laughable cartoon by Gillam, in *Puck*, July 9, 1894

laden with sand. He thought it should be kept and defended, and taking steps to do so, departed for Washington to make his own report. With Gustavus V. Fox and Frank P. Blair he went to the White House and roused Mr. Lincoln from bed. On hearing the news the President grasped Fox by the waist and waltzed him around the room in joyful exultation. Nobody, as Butler remarked, had done anything else except get thrashed at Bull Run. He was the whole war up to date on the side of success.

Scott was old and vain, and Simon Cameron an incompetent Secretary of War. The President was harassed and perplexed. He sympathized with Butler's go-ahead-itativeness, but was embarrassed by the snarl of red tape about the War Department, and the difficulties caused by jealousy and questions of rank. Butler, up to Bull Run, and after, had been the big show. He was a Democrat and open to partisan suspicion. As a way out, having asked for a little leave, he was sent home on recruiting service. Here he showed great zeal, summoning regiments to the colors in all the New England states. The governors were cordial and quick to respond outside of Massachusetts, where John A. Andrew, famous as a war governor, would have none of him. He declined to commission officers selected by Butler, because they were Democrats. The governor's course was not indorsed by Lincoln, who broke the deadlock by creating a military district and putting Butler in charge of it. This raised a sizeable row and caused much discomfort for the Administration. Believing in Butler, Mr. Lincoln now assigned him to command the military operations against New

Orleans, where Commodore David G. Farragut was about to take the aggressive with his fleet. Accordingly, Butler packed 3,500 men, including Col. Neal Dow, father of Prohibition, on an iron passenger steamer called the *Mississippi,* and headed them for Ship Island, a white sand bar commanding the mouths of the Mississippi and handy to Mobile.

Whether from treachery or stupidity, the captain grounded the vessel on the shoals off Hatteras. They were assisted by the blockader *Mt. Vernon* in the nick of time, as the fluke of an anchor had punched a hole in the bow of the *Mississippi,* which filled her forward compartment. Fortunately, the bulkhead stood. Butler had sworn to stand by his ship, and there was a pretty chance of going down with her. He patched the hole with a device of his own, and with bow down and stern in the air, the tub made Ship Island.

It is needless to detail Farragut's successful operations. But having passed Forts Jackson and St. Philip and cowed New Orleans, the admiral turned the situation over to Butler, who, in his capacity as commander of the Department of the Gulf, now reached the top of his fame. This did not come through any military exploits, for his force did no fighting. It was as administrator of the angry, rebellious city that he gained a ripe store of laurels and hatred.

The city was insolent in its attitude and could not believe itself conquered. William B. Mumford, a sport and gambler, pulled down the flag on the Custom House, tore it to bits and paraded the town with a strip in his buttonhole. Butler caught him and hanged him from a beam jutting out of a Custom House win-

dow. Women spat on his officers. He proclaimed that such offenders would be treated as women of the town. This was regarded as an insult of the first dimensions. It even travelled abroad and was commented on unfavorably by the eminent Lord Palmerston in the British Parliament. "Pam" even went so far as to advise the Washington government to repudiate the order. It declined to do so. There was no more feminine expectoration in New Orleans. Sanitation became his next triumph. It was confidently expected by the Confederacy that the yellow fever would drive the "Beast," as he was termed, out of the city. Instead, he kept the fever out. The poor were starving and idle. He fed them and gave them work. His performances alone kept the North out of the dumps, indeed Thurlow Weed wrote John Bigelow: "We are in a bad way. I wish that Ben Butler had been elected President—or that even now was in Halleck's place."

The foreign Consuls were actively on the side of the Confederacy—some of them under arms. He curbed their conduct. Soon he was master, to the good fortune of all concerned. He was assuredly some satrap! More than all this, he raised the first regiment of black troops, whose number grew to 160,000 before the fighting was over. Furthermore, he restored sound currency, driving out the Confederate paper, and gaining back, for Northern merchants, credits that had been confiscated. Naturally, the North rang with his prowess. James Parton, the historian, wrote *General Butler at New Orleans* a volume fat with eulogy. He was still a Democrat and the shrewd William H. Seward, the Administration's political pilot, saw that a

Presidential possibility was ripening under the warm Louisiana sun. Accordingly, Butler was recalled on November 9, 1862, ostensibly because the foreign Consuls had protested to their governments against his arbitrary acts, and that Louis Napoleon was offended. As that adventurer was meddling in Mexico, and endeavoring to persuade Britain to recognize the South, it became coincidentally convenient to concede something to him. This was Butler's official scalp.

There was a good deal more fear of Butler's possible political prowess than of Napoleon, though the Emperor kept a fleet of warships in the gulf, one of which had the nerve to follow Farragut up the river.

The command of the Gulf was given over to N. P. Banks, also from Massachusetts, who made a mess of it. Butler's recall wrought much joy in the South, and Jefferson Davis, for whom he had so frequently voted at Charleston, issued a proclamation, in which he was declared to be "a felon, deserving of capital punishment," to be no longer "considered or treated simply as a public enemy * * * but as an outlaw and common enemy of mankind" and "that, in the event of his capture, the officers in command of the capturing force do cause him to be immediately executed by hanging."

A like fate was decreed all officers serving under him. The private soldiers were mercifully exempted as being only "instruments," and not "free agents," in the commission of a long list of alleged crimes listed in the proclamation. Judah P. Benjamin wrote it. He was a member of the Davis cabinet, and came from New Orleans. One Richard Yeadon of Charleston, offered $10,000 reward for Butler "dead or alive."

Well knowing that party politics lay behind his recall, Butler visited Lincoln and made his position plain. He would either go back to New Orleans or home. The President offered him Grant's post in Mississippi, with the lure that he could swell his army with colored volunteers. Butler stood fast on his ground and offered to return his major-general's commission. He was told to keep it and take a vacation. This he enjoyed until November 2, 1863, when he was given command of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, to which was added the duty of commissioner for the exchange of prisoners of war. This task was soon made light by Grant, who had become commander-in-chief, and objected to exchanges as tending to strengthen the enemy and prolong the war. Butler now took over the Army of the James. He established great bases at City Point and Bermuda Hundred, thereby opening the door for Grant to proceed to Richmond, via Petersburg, after he had failed in his bloody and useless Wilderness campaign. Butler's own moves were pretty well checked by the active Confederates. He fought one considerable battle—that of Drury's Bluff, and dug the celebrated Dutch Gap canal. His plans for reaching Richmond were stopped by the consolidation of his army with that of the Potomac, on January 8, 1865.

His activities have been much criticized, but, studied carefully, they seem to have been sound. The Dutch Gap canal avoided the defenses at Drury's Bluff. Our gunboats could have proceeded to Richmond, had there been an officer in command daring enough to make the attempt. Indeed, Farragut was sent for to look it over

at the eleventh hour. Before he could act, Lee had surrendered.

Politically, Butler had shifted his gears. Lincoln, in the election of 1864, dropped Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, for running mate and took on Andrew Johnson of Tennessee—a smart piece of political profiteering, it was thought. Butler intimates that Lincoln offered him the place. He left the front to take military charge in New York, to ensure a "fair" election result, November 7, 1864. He did this with some thousands of troops, and also "put down" an alleged conspiracy to push the price of gold up to 300, as an adverse influence on the election. He kept it below 260, by warning the speculators.

The last act of his military career was not glorious. Ordered to proceed against Fort Fisher, which successfully guarded the Cape Fear River below Wilmington, for the easy use of blockade runners, he delayed to fit up a bombship, which was to blow up the works, but only blew itself up, and that feebly, after a long hesitancy.

Soon after, David D. Porter and Alfred H. Terry, took the fort in gallant fashion. Lee surrendered; Joe Johnston gave up to Sherman and the war was over.

Butler now became a full-fledged Republican and a member of Congress from the Essex district, where he had a summer cottage, beating Richard Henry Dana of *Three Years Before the Mast* fame. He was involved in the attack on President Andrew Johnson, and became one of the committee that sought his impeachment. Partisan in all things, Butler shone large in a partisan Congress. The rascality of Reconstruc-

tion, the corrupt politics of Grant's first Administration, had much of Butler in them. He filled his pockets. A great stone castle still stands across the way from the Capitol. He built and lived in it to be handy to the works. Replacing Charles Summer as the leader of the Massachusetts forces, he degraded the State by the appointments he fathered, and so did much to provoke the independent revolt of 1872. He lost his seat in 1874. After two years retirement, he was elected from the Lowell district in 1876, in a bolt against Judge E. R. Hoar. The two years that followed were his last as a Republican.

Ambitious to be governor of Massachusetts, he tried hard for the Republican nomination. The silk stockings were too much for him. Accordingly, he ran as an Independent, in 1878, and lost. The next year he captured the nomination of the Democrats—any party would now do; he was getting old and in a hurry for the honor. He was beaten. In 1880, he supported Hancock, and in 1882, won the coveted office as a Democrat. During his term he made a great scandal of the conduct of the State almshouse at Tewksbury. It was charged that the bodies of paupers were sold to the Harvard Medical College for dissection, and that the skins of some had been tanned. They made poor leather. (Carlyle alleged that the skins of young aristocrats, who mocked at Jean Jacques Rousseau, were tanned and used to bind his books during the French Revolution.) The charges were not strong enough to give Butler a second term in the State House, though he made a vigorous campaign. I heard him speak in Tremont Temple. He was a big, bulbous man, shaped

then like a pouter pigeon; very bald, with a mountain of a head. His face was red and his drooping eyelids gave him a curiously unpleasant expression. Demagogue was trade-marked all over him.

Though a delegate to the Democratic Convention at Chicago in 1884, he bolted the nomination of Grover Cleveland, on the excuse of free trade, and became the candidate of the dying Greenbackers. In this he had the support of Charles A. Dana and the New York *Sun,* to whom Mr. Cleveland was "a good man, weighing 250 pounds." In the result he weighed as many tons. Dana was crushed, his paper reduced to the lowest rank in New York, and Butler's public career ended. But his bolt helped to elect Cleveland.

Of Butler's eminence there can be no dispute. As a lawyer he pleaded many causes and was more than often victorious. He possessed acumen and insight such as is given few men, together with a boldness that verged on the unscrupulous. These qualities made for success. Thus he became rich, and detested. The aristocracy of his State regarded him with horror; the leaders of his party feared and hated him. Yet, in spots he served his country well. In New Orleans he was the right man in the right place; in Congress the reverse. The greater part of his repute rested on notoriety rather than glory.

The general never lost the love of the sea, picked up on his first fishing trip. When the wartime navy was cleared up, he acquired the famous yacht *America,* winner of the celebrated cup, which had been captured running the blockade. In this marvel of the shipbuilder's art he and his son Paul spent many pleasant

hours. The vessel was turned over to the Government by his heirs, and is now part of the equipment of the Annapolis Naval Academy, still the envy of yacht builders, and much studied as a model.

General Butler died at Lowell, January 11, 1893. When Judge E. Rockwood Hoar was asked if he intended to attend the funeral, he replied: "No, but I approve of it." This seems to be the verdict that stands against his name.

XVIII

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

"PRINCE OF PEACE"

FROM the days of Continental currency to the founding of the Federal Reserve Bank in 1915, the United States had been a fertile field for financial heresies. A fast growing country, with slow communications, limited credit, and a shortage of circulating medium, made it easily subject to financial distress. Of the "hard money" stock, silver was relatively scarcer than gold, with a varying value affected by the supply, which finally caused its demonitization—the celebrated "Crime of 1873." Wild cat currency, and bank notes that were seldom tame, kept the country in monetary misery. When the government greenback was invented in 1862 it soon became so much below par as to imperil the finances of the nation. The government paid its bills with the paper, but would accept nothing but gold for its dues, with a resulting enhancement in the value of the yellow disks. The greenbacks were "legal tender" by mandate among men, but not in the Treasury Department.

Quite naturally people thought that when the government got on its feet financially the greenback should be as good as gold and acceptable for taxes. A test before the United States Supreme Court decided that

it was not. As time passed the greenback had been steadily creeping toward par, the difference between it and the gold dollar being merely fractional. This was evidence to the Greenbackers that it was "good" and they persisted in their demand for more. It had been helped in value by the retirement of some $200,000,000 which was deemed to cramp the country. This was true, for it was growing and needed more currency, not less, in order to do business in comfort. The hard times of 1873 and later were credited to demonitization of silver and squeezing the water out the greenbacks. They were due instead to over-building of railroads and the crimping of credit by scared capital. The people however wanted the hair of the dog that had bitten them in war time. Legislation was first put through that provided for a flood of fiat currency. The steadfast President, U. S. Grant, vetoed it. Then there sprang up a Greenback Party determined to head off the return of specie payments. This was a disturbing factor for two decades, until merged into Populism in 1892, when the vote for J. B. Weaver, of Iowa, ran up to a million, captured twenty-two electoral votes, and drew enough support from the Republicans to place Grover Cleveland in the White House for a second term. Just as the election of James Buchanan in 1856 was supposed to have stilled the fires of Anti-Slavery, and Secession, so Cleveland's triumph was expected to put a quietus upon Populism. Instead it bred something worse.

The world's silver supply had been suddenly augmented in the late sixties by a discovery of vast deposits in Nevada, which such vigorous diggers as John

W. Mackay, J. G. Fair and George Hearst, developed with much energy. It was found that the mercantile demand for the mineral could not consume its output and, following the American custom, the government was called upon to assist in absorbing the surplus. In 1878 therefore Congressman Richard P. Bland of Missouri, who had engaged in mining the metal, succeeded in passing a bill through the House calling for the "free and unlimited" coinage of 412½ grain silver dollars, or at the rate of 15.62 to 1, for gold. Any person bringing metal to the mint could have it coined on this ratio. Senator William B. Allison, of Iowa, eliminated "free and unlimited" to the disgust of Bland, and provided that the government might buy not less than 2,000,000 or more than 4,000,000 ounces per month, but not to exceed investing more than $5,000,000, in bars. This was only a sop to silver, but it passed by a non-party vote. Allison saw that in effect the government would be buying all that was offered at 96 cents per ounce and soon go broke. Nobody wanted the cart-wheels after currency was redeemable in gold, January 1, 1879, and the mines stagnated. At the appeal of their owners in 1890, John Sherman put through an act requiring the purchase of 4,500,000, ounces of silver per month. There was no demand for it in coinage outside of fractional amounts and the metal piled up by the ton in the Treasury while good money went out steadily to pay for silver at twice its market value.

Some of it was salvaged by the issuance of one dollar "silver certificates," which were of course, paper.

They circulated at par and only served to further stagnate the stock of bullion in the Treasury.

When Mr. Cleveland came into power in 1893, it was discovered that the country's gold reserve had well-nigh disappeared, no one knew where. Then the wise found that we had been exchanging useful gold for useless silver and that the yellow boys had rolled away. Semi-panic ensued. The richest government in the world had to sell $100,000,000 in bonds to restore its gold reserve. It had previously sold $64,000,000 worth which did not last long, for the same purpose.

Mr. Cleveland set to work and secured the repeal of the Sherman Act to the immediate relief of the Treasury, but to the deep distress of the silver miners. These now sought legislation that would permit the free coinage of silver at a sixteen to one ratio. That is as under Bland's plan, producers of the metal could take it to the mint, have it coined, and less seignorage, turn it loose upon the country in dollars. The government would not buy it in this circumstance, but the people would. That at least was the theory. Silver had however dropped from its high estate of 96 cents per ounce to 46 cents. The stamp of the government had held up its lost value in currency form. This would vanish with free coinage.

In 1896 the silver miners set about seriously to save themselves. They had to capture an administration. The Republicans met first at St. Louis where they nominated William McKinley, of Ohio. He had been a silver man. The American Bankers' Association through its agent Oscar E. Leach, cashier of the Na-

tional Union Bank of New York, supplied Thomas C. Platt, the Republican boss of the State, with funds, which enabled him to secure the insertion of a gold plank in the platform. So the baffled silver men, under the leadership of Marcus Daly, head of the Anaconda Mine, turned their energies toward the Democracy. They knew that parties did not invent issues, but that issues could capture parties.

There had come into Congress from Lincoln, Nebraska, in 1891, a gifted young man named William Jennings Bryan, who speedily became known as "The Boy Orator of the Platte." This he was by adoption having been born at Salem, Illinois, March 19, 1860. He graduated from Illinois college with high honors in 1881, becoming valedictorian of his class. Studying law, at Union College, Chicago, he was admitted to the bar in 1883, and hung out his shingle at Jacksonville, the old home of Stephen A. Douglas.

The next year he married Mary Elizabeth Baird, a charming and accomplished fellow-student and in 1887 shifted his sign to Lincoln. Here he got on, and whence he was sent to Congress where he served two terms, ending in 1895. Toward the close of his service he became editor of the Omaha *World-Herald*. He had formed the habit of attending national conventions covering a number of them, and was present at the nomination of McKinley, representing the *World-Herald*. He had been nominated for senator several times in Nebraska and though but thirty-six, knew politics and how to touch popular chords. Of robust and pleasing appearance he had a real gift for oratory, sonorous voice and unlimited endurance. He had the

A MIGHTY RISKY EXPERIMENT.

BRYAN TO WORKINGMAN: "Now, my good man, I propose to cut your dollar in two without hurting you a particle."

BRYAN, THE FREE-SILVER WIZARD

One of the earliest cartoons of this later much-cartooned candidate, by Rogers, in *Harper's Weekly*, August 22, 1896

face such as people like to note in statesmen—a broad, high brow, wide between the ears, a compelling eye, firm chin and mouth and the sort of nose Napoleon Bonaparte admired. He spoke with passion and could be plainly heard on the back seats. Moreover he was a Presbyterian and believed that God had created man in His Own Image. His heart warmed for the people and he made their wrongs his own—that is to say the plain folks of the West. There was no place in his cardiac region for the grasping capitalist of the East who sold money as a business and had coagulated it into what he called a "trust" that sweated the dollar of the agriculturist until it became thin as a wafer.

Just as Solon Chase, of Maine, a famous Greenbacker, had shouted for "more hog in the dollar" so Mr. Bryan wanted more dollars for the hog-raisers. How the undoubtedly mistreated farmer was to get the dollars never entered his calculations.

As Sulla, the Tyrant, contemplating the young Julius Cæsar "saw many a Marius in this dissolute youth," so the silver men perceived a possibility in the eloquent young Nebraskan and shifted their persuasive forces from St. Louis to Chicago, where the Democrats were assembling to name a successor for Mr. Cleveland. A seat as a delegate from Nebraska had been secured for Mr. Bryan, and the ways had been carefully greased for launching him as a candidate.

Through fusions with the Populists in the West the convention was liberally stocked with Wild Asses Colts. The silver men had small difficulty in saddling them, the hostler being this self-same Boy Orator of the Platte. Well surcharged with silver, he came laden

with a plank for the platform that declared for free coinage. Peppered with populism there had never been quite such a Democratic Convention before. Fusion had brought in so much queer company that old timers looked askant upon the scene and wondered at the outcome. David B. Hill, of New York, Anti-Cleveland, but sound in sense, sat gloomily by while the wild people worked their will. He had come West in the hope of becoming the standard-bearer, but could not discover a gleam of hope, so securely did the populists and silverites control.

Colonel Charles H. Jones, editor of Joseph Pulitzer's St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* had brought a platform already written, containing his celebrated "Government by Injunction" clause which had caused his exile from the editorial charge of the New York *World* to Missouri. He cheerfully accepted Mr. Bryan's equally ready-made silver plank. When the show began the latter was "duly surprised" at being asked by Senator John P. Jones, of Nevada, to take charge of presenting the free silver side. He had aspired to this duty, but felt it belonged to Jones, and had raised his eyes to the chairmanship of the convention, but "having passed through a circle of disappointments I found myself in the very position for which I had at first longed." He went to Jones after the convention in sweet innocence to learn how he had been selected for the honor, to find out from that solemn wag that "he knew of the part I had taken in organizing the fight." He did indeed, having helped to pay for it.

Describing what followed Mr. Bryan notes in his Autobiography: "I had spoken long enough to know

that, comparing myself with myself, I was more effective in a brief speech in conclusion than a longer speech that simply laid down propositions for another to follow * * * For some reason—I do not now recall what the reason was—the debate on the platform was put over until the next day and I had time to think over my speech during the night and to arrange my arguments in so far as one can arrange arguments for a closing speech. I fitted my definition of the business man at the place that I thought best and kept my 'cross of gold and crown of thorns' for the conclusion."

Never, he felt, had there been a better setting for a speech. The Republican Convention "had declared for the maintenance of the gold standard only until it was possible to restore bi-metallism by international agreement, and the platform pledged the party to an effort to secure international bi-metallism."

Hill, William F. Vilas of Wisconsin, and Governor W. E. Russell of Massachusetts had "provoked" and "irritated" the delegates by their stand for honest money. These were now ready for Bryan. He confesses naïvely that he "was prepared to answer in an extemporaneous speech the arguments which had been presented—that is extemporaneous so far as its arrangement was concerned."

Satisfied with the situation and himself he felt "as composed as if I had been speaking to a small audience on an unimportant occasion. From the first sentence the audience was with me. My voice reached to the uttermost parts of the hall, which is a great advantage in speaking to an audience like that."

There was another advantage—arranged as carefully as his speech: "The audience acted like a trained choir—in fact I thought of a choir as I noted how instantaneously and in unison they responded to each point as made."

Thus it was that what appeared like a spontaneous outburst on the part of speaker and audience came to pass. The peroration that thrilled had been carefully rehearsed. It came forth flaming in this form:

My friends, we declare that this nation is able to legislate for its own people on every question, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation on earth; and upon that issue we expect to carry every state in the Union. I shall not slander the fair state of Massachusetts nor the inhabitants of the State of New York by saying, that, when they are confronted with the proposition they will declare that this nation is not able to attend to its own business. It is the issue of 1776 over again. Our ancestors who were but three million in number, had the courage to declare their political independence of every other nation; shall we, their descendants, when we have grown to seventy millions, declare we are less independent than our forefathers? No, my friends, that will never be the verdict of the people. Therefore we care not upon what field the battle is fought. If they say bi-metallism is good, but that we cannot have it until other nations help us, we reply that, instead of having a gold standard because England has, we will restore bi-metallism, and then let England have bi-metallism because the United States has it. If they decide to come out into the open field and defend the gold standard as a good thing, we will fight them to the uttermost. Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by common interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold

standard by saying to them: "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold!"

Hardly up to "Give me liberty or give me death" but it produced a prodigious furore. Men tore banners from the walls and waved them in furious excitement. The applause thundered in hurricanes. When the convention had accepted the platform, with a final howl it adjourned to nominate on the next day. J. P. Bland, the original silver man received 235 votes on the first ballot, Bryan 119, Governor Robert E. Pattison, of Pennsylvania, 95, J. S. C. Blackburn, of Kentucky 83, Governor Horace Boies of Iowa, 85. The rest of the delegates scattered. Out of the total 178 did not vote at all. They saved themselves by arrangement, for Bryan. When the fifth ballot was announced he had 500 votes and needed 512. These were given him at once by changes. Arthur Sewell, a rich ship builder, of Bath, Maine, was named for Vice-President. Then the delegates went home.

Bryan took the stump and made a wonderful canvass. He stirred and scared the country. Money bags grew weak in the knees at his exuberant progress. Enormous crowds heard and acclaimed him everywhere. Business men were in a near panic, artfully encouraged by Marcus A. Hanna, of Cleveland, who had brought about the nomination of McKinley. Thomas C. Platt collected great funds in New York. All over the country men of money contributed heavily to save the gold standard and the Republican Party so lately converted to its merits. In addition a Democratic bolt was contrived, the venerable John M. Palmer, of Il-

linois, being placed at its head and General Simon Bolivar Buckner, of Kentucky on the tail. The Populists put Thomas E. Watson of Georgia, in the field.

No newspaper of much account except the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* which Mr. Pulitzer could not control under his contract with Colonel Jones, supported Bryan. Mr. Pulitzer's New York *World* was especially vigorous in the negative. Bryan travelled 18,000 miles making unnumbered speeches, but was beaten with 176 electoral votes to 271 for McKinley. On the popular vote McKinley polled 7,104,779, Bryan 6,502,925, a Republican lead of 601,854. This looks like a large margin, yet in the balancing of the electors, a change of 25,000 ballots, properly distributed, would have carried the college and elected Bryan.

The country rejoiced in the victory and thought itself safe from silver. It was, but not from Bryan. He kept in the field. When the needless Spanish War was unloaded on the Administration, Mr. Bryan straightway offered his services to President McKinley, who was not polite enough to reply. So Mr. Bryan enlisted as a private in a militia company at Lincoln, pending a hope that he might get on Major-General Joseph Wheeler's staff, which was not possible while uncommissioned and without military experience. Accordingly Governor Silas A. Holcomb, of Nebraska, authorized him to raise a regiment which he did, riding at its head as Colonel. He looked well in a uniform but had not the luck of Theodore Roosevelt to reach Cuba. His command was kept five months in Florida. No Democratic military records were desired while those of Republicans were so thin.

Bryan resigned the day peace was declared and went back to Nebraska. He did not subside, however, but picked up imperialism as an issue, growing out of America's acquisition of Porto Rico and the Philippines. This he made his shibboleth, much encouraged by Joseph Pulitzer who was glad to get back into Democratic company, though the *World* would not swallow Bryan and silver. When the Democrats met at Kansas City July 5, 1900, Mr. Bryan did not for once attend. His friend R. L. Metcalfe of the *World-Herald* was among those present, however, at the head of the delegation and attended to his nomination which came by acclamation. Imperialism was made the battle cry, and an effort to drop silver caused some choking, Bryan insisting that the Chicago silver plank be reaffirmed. This was done but it made small stir in the campaign. Colonel Jones again indited the platform, still holding Mr. Pulitzer in defiance. Adlai E. Stephenson, the axe-wielder in Mr. Cleveland's administration was selected as vice-president. Defeat was their portion. This time Bryan had 155 electoral votes to 292 for the renominated McKinley, whose popular majority was 849,790.

He took himself out of the race in 1904, when at St. Louis William Randolph Hearst, of California and New York, came close to capturing the nomination, but was defeated by Judge Alton B. Parker, head of the New York Court of Appeals. Mr. Bryan attended and sought to keep silver in the platform. He did not succeed, but wrote much of the rest of it. David B. Hill ran the show and put over Parker, who came out for gold. The Judge was a comely man but not na-

tionally known. Mr. Pulitzer had recaptured the *Post-Dispatch* from Colonel Jones and it, together with the New York *World* rejoiced in the "Passing of Bryan." He did not go very far away, having in 1900 established the weekly *Commoner,* at Lincoln, which had 100,000 circulation, out of which he made money and through which he was heard from. Parker was badly beaten by the redoubtable Theodore Roosevelt, the electoral vote standing 336 to 140, with a popular majority of 2,545,515.

Saying "I told you so" Bryan fixed his fences for 1908 when William H. Taft received the Republican nomination by inheritance from his predecessor, whose war secretary he had been, in the expectation that he would give it back at the end of four years. This time the *World* and *Post-Dispatch* accepted Bryan, but he was again defeated, the electoral vote standing 321 to 172, and abandoned Presidential ambition thereafter, to become a star on the Chautauqua circuit taking "The Prince of Peace" as his chief topic. He was very popular and succeeded in this field. He did not, however, forego his habit of attending conventions, being present at the 1912 Republican and Bull Moose gatherings at Chicago, as reporter for a newspaper syndicate. The split made the Democratic nomination a prize-package. Mr. Bryan attended the Democratic convention at Baltimore in the dual capacity of correspondent and delegate from Nebraska, instructed to vote for Champ Clark, of Missouri, Speaker of the House. Clark was popular in the West and South. Colonel E. M. House, J. P. McCombs and William G. McAdoo had put themselves behind Woodrow Wil-

son. There was a stiff contest. Bryan voted for Clark so long as the New York delegation was against him. When Charles F. Murphy, the Tammany Boss ordered them to support Clark on the tenth ballot, Mr. Bryan turned to Wilson on a resolution to the effect that no Morgan-Ryan-Belmont-Tammany combination could be permitted to put a President in the White House. He stuck to Wilson until he won out.

Whether because of gratitude or pre-arrangement through Wilson's clever management, when victory followed the Republican dissensions, the new President named Mr. Bryan Secretary of State. This he accepted. The place was not pleasant, the self-centered Wilson regarding his cabinet members rather as appendages to him than as factors of his administration. Mr. Bryan frequently found himself wandering in the dark with a hostile press ever striving to make him appear ridiculous. The Austrian Ambassador Dumba made a statement public credited to Bryan that the American protest on the sinking of the Lusitania was not to be considered seriously. The Secretary, replying to Dumba's query as to why the Lusitania incident had any different aspect than the holding up of our ships bound for Hamburgh and Kiel, had answered that taking lives and merchandise were different things. So thoroughly misrepresented was Mr. Bryan, and kept so much in ignorance by Mr. Wilson that he found himself ineffective in the European situation developed by the war. The President was running diplomacy himself with Colonel E. M. House as his confidential agent. Walter H. Page, ambassador to Great Britain was operating on a line of his own quite apart from

Wilson and Bryan. Between criticism and confusion Mr. Bryan gave it up. He resigned on June 8, 1915. Mr. Wilson accepted "with a feeling of personal sorrow," adding, "our two years of association have been delightful to me." The immediate cause of his quitting was because he declined to sign the second impotent note to Germany. Its Foreign Office had suggested arbitration. This Bryan thought should have been considered. Instead the situation was left in the air to come down in armed conflict. Robert Lansing took his place in the cabinet, to be kicked out more ignominiously than any man who had ever held high office in the United States. Even Jackson sent his ministers into retirement politely.

In 1924 Mr. Bryan attended his last convention, this time as a delegate from Florida, where he had become a citizen. He was again in "the enemy's country" as he had called it in 1896. The freshness had gone from his voice and his eye had lost its command. The following behind Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York, wanted to push through an Anti-Klan resolution. Mr. Bryan did not object to a declaration against intolerance but he did oppose mentioning the Klan by name. On a close vote he had his way.

Also, his brother Charles W. was nominated for Vice-President. This was the end of Mr. Bryan's remarkable career in American politics.

He had held the record for attempts at gaining the Chief Magistracy: three times before the people, to be as many times rejected. Yet he had not failed as a man of mark. For one thing the despised dollar of our daddies became worth more than a hundred cents dur-

ing the war period. After the World War the Nations exerted themselves to establish some form of eternal peace on earth and good-will among men, which had replaced sixteen to one in Mr. Bryan's vocabulary. This under way, he took on the engineering of nation-wide prohibition. Nothing looked less possible. The National Prohibition Party had never done better than 300,000 or so at the polls and was a political joke, just as the abolition party was before it, which could never register more than a quarter of a million followers. But abolition prevailed through blood, and prohibition carried in the emotional aftermath of war.

Mr. Bryan became financially interested in Florida. He had shifted his residence from Lincoln to Miami, after his retirement from the Department of State, establishing himself in a pleasant home that he called Villa Serena. He became an appanage of the boom, establishing a Bible Class that soon became too big for the Presbyterian Church and had to move outdoors, locating in a park on the shore of Biscayne Bay. Here five thousand people would gather each Sunday to hear him expound the lesson. Between times he did some talking for Florida in the interest of the real estate exploitation. The Young Men's Christian Association sent him across the continent through Canada, to organize new bodies in its name. He was very successful at this. Never familiar, he had a warm hand when grasped and an imposing personality, while his speech, if not profound was fervid and his appeals stirred up the good in men. He could not rouse "the boys" or the pot-house politicians but he certainly united the god-fearing.

Religion crowded his closing years. He was unceasing in his exertions and kept as busy as a Prince of Wales, laying corner stones, dedicating churches and aiding drives for raising funds. To this he gave time and strength without stint, to the exhaustion of the latter. His splendid physique seemed equal to any strain, but as the event proved it was not.

The State of Tennessee put a law on its statute books forbidding the teaching of evolution in public schools. Some ingenious young gentleman in the modest town of Dayton conceived the brilliant idea of putting the place on the map by the device of testing the act. John J. Scopes, a teacher in the public school was therefore taken to account for explaining Darwin to his class in biology. Hicks and Hicks, hitherto unheard-of counsellors at law, undertook the prosecution in May, 1925. With the consent of the County Judge and the Attorney General they invited Mr. Bryan to take part in the case on the side of the law. The question at issue was wholly legal, but it was made to take on an aspect of bigotry. Of course Mr. Bryan's participation gave it nation-wide interest, though as Mrs. Bryan sensibly observes in writing of her husband: "The truth or lack of truth in the theory of evolution were out of place." She evidently disapproved of the fuss. The press and public, however, did not hold this view. Neither did Mr. Bryan.

The bones of Darwin were well rattled during the course of the trial while Mr. Bryan was placed in a class with the Inquisitors of the Holy Office. Times were dull—it was summer—and the trial received vast space in the newspapers. Dayton was suffocatingly hot;

jammed with correspondents and the curious. Mr. Bryan worked unceasingly, giving neither his mind or body rest. He was the whole show. Clarence A. Darrow, defendant's counsel, figured small. Scopes was found guilty, while Mr. Bryan was hailed as the "Defender of the Faith."

But the trial had told on him. He consulted a doctor, who found his blood pressure normal, heart action good and his general condition satisfactory. The day after this verdict, he retired as usual to take his afternoon nap. Mrs. Bryan sent up to awaken him. The messenger came back to report that he was sleeping so peacefully it seemed a pity to rouse him. Mrs. Bryan was herself invalided, confined to a wheel chair. She felt uneasy and again sent the man up to raise the windows and see if Mr. Bryan was really asleep. He came back reporting: "Something is wrong. I cannot wake him." Indeed something was wrong. The Prince of Peace was dead. This was July 26, 1925.

As an echo of his five months with the Nebraska regiment in Florida, he had desired to be buried in the American Valhalla at Arlington. This was done. So the Prince of Peace sleeps on a field of Mars. Inconsistencies never bothered him. Why quarrel with this?

It is difficult to sum him up. He was a born exhorter and evangelist both in and out of politics. The latter is usually deemed the delight of the unregenerate. Mr. Bryan made politics pious. He was a good man in the trite sense. Right living had been his habit from the beginning. He was thrifty and left a fortune estimated at $750,000, made partly by the rise in Florida real estate, the rest earned on the platform. Few men got

close up to him, but those who came into considerable contact liked him. Grim old E. W. Howe of Atchison, Kansas, came to hold him in high regard as they foregathered at Miami. Joseph A. Altsheler, the *World* correspondent who accompanied him during the strenuous 1896 campaign liked him much and wrote a novel *The Candidate* depicting his traits. He had always to be serving something. That is a characteristic of the evangel.

Were his accomplishments beneficial to any but himself? The negative would be a fair reply. His silver fallacy gave rise to political and economic confusion on a large scale. More than this his aimless persistence in politics destroyed opposition in the United States. The strenuous Roosevelt could always outdo him. To compete was to become absurd. That Bryan never was. The party of Jefferson lost force and purpose under his demoralizing domination. It did not want him, but he wanted it and had it to his fill. The party has never rallied from the effects of Bryanism. The country has yet to create an intelligent and effective competition with the Republican Party. Roosevelt made the Republicans ineffective against Wilson. Wilson left his party on the rocks. Bryan would have kept out of the war at all hazards. He believed in his principles so long as they interested him. But he was never a Jeffersonian or a Jacksonian. He was William Jennings Bryan, Traveller upon Tides.

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